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Northrop Frye

MYTHOS AND LOGOS*

The School of Letters was founded twenty years ago, largely in response to a great resurgence of interest in the theory of criticism. At that time I had just finished a study of Blake, and was attracted by the same interest, following the particular bent that Blake had given me. From the beginning I was interested particularly in two questions. One was: What is the total subject of study of which criticism forms a part? I rejected the easy answer: "Criticism is a subdivision of literature," because it seemed obvious to me that literature is not a subject of study at all apart from some aspect of criticism. There seemed to me two possible larger contexts for criticism: one, the unified criticism of all the arts, which does not yet exist; the other, some larger study of verbal expression which has not yet been defined. The latter seemed more immediately promising: the former was the area of aesthetics, in which (at least at that time) relatively few technically competent literary critics appeared to be much interested. But there was a strong centrifugal drift from criticism toward social, philosophical or religious interests, which had set in at least

as early as Coleridge. Some sense of claustrophobia was doubtless operating here: a critic devoting himself wholly to literature is apt to feel that he can never be anything more than a second-class writer or thinker, because his work is based on the work of what almost by definition are greater men.

The other question was: How do we arrive at poetic meaning? This question was closely related to the other question of context. When I first began to write on critical theory, I was startled to realize how general was the agreement that criticism had no presuppositions of its own, but had to be "grounded" on some other subject. The disagreements were not over that, but over the question of what the proper subjects were that criticism ought to depend on. There were the various critical determinisms, ranging from Thomism to Marxism, and there was an establishment view that the proper basis was a mixture of history and philosophy, evidently on the assumption that every work of literature is what Sir Walter Raleigh said *Paradise Lost* was, a monument to dead ideas. I myself was soon identified as one of the critics who took their assumptions from anthropology and psychology, then

* Presented as a lecture to celebrate the Twentieth Anniversary of the School of Letters at Indiana University, July, 1968.

still widely regarded as the wrong subjects. I have always insisted that criticism cannot take presuppositions from elsewhere, which always means wrenching them out of their real context, and must work out its own. But mental habits are hard to break, especially bad habits, and, because I found the term "archetype" a useful one, I am still often called a Jungian critic, and classified with Miss Maud Bodkin, whose book I have read with interest, but whom, on the evidence of that book, I resemble about as closely as I resemble the late Sarah Bernhardt.

In certain respects the situation of twenty years ago has not changed essentially. The centrifugal drift continues: sometimes it represents a genuine expanding of the scope of criticism, or even, as with my colleague Marshall McLuhan, a new mosaic code. But it often takes the form of treating the work of literature as an illustration of something outside literature. When the whiteness of *Moby Dick* is explained as a Lockian *tūbula rasa*, or Alice in Wonderland discussed in terms of her hypothetical toilet training, one is reminded of the exempla from natural history made by medieval preachers. The bee carries earth in its feet to ballast itself when it flies, and thereby reminds us of the Incarnation, when God took up an earthly form. The example is ingenious and entertaining, and only unsatisfying if one happens to be interested in bees. Naturally such practices have produced a reaction from critics who see the futility of trying to base their professional scholarly competence on an amateur enthusiasm for something else. But I do not think it helps any merely to write cautionary treatises urging critics that they should be careful not to do too much various things that they are not effectively doing at all. For the sense of criticism as a second-hand literary activity is also still with us. Its postulates

would doubtless be repudiated when expressed as bluntly as I have just expressed them, but it still survives as an unrealized assumption, and any sensitive teacher can see for himself what psychological damage it continues to do in our graduate schools, or even earlier.

Hence, although within the last twenty years students of literature have gained immensely in confidence and sense of direction, criticism is still vulnerable to external attack in a way that no other academic subject is, except to the extent that religion is an academic subject. The determinists are out of fashion now, but we still have the critical drop-out, who laments the shame of our graduate schools' preoccupation with literature instead of with current events or something more "vital." The word in the desert, T. S. Eliot reminds us, is most beset by voices of temptation, and, for younger students in particular, a commitment to literature, critical or practical, has still many hazards surrounding it in this violent and troubled country.

In trying to think about this situation, I find myself turning to the two classical "defences" of poetry in English literature, those by Sidney and Shelley. Both works are familiar, but I should like to look at them again, not only for what they say but for what they imply about the cultural context contemporary with them. In that aspect they may help us to clarify our view of our own context. It is obvious that a defence of poetry, whoever writes it, is also, at least potentially, a critic's confession of faith. Defence implies attack, and both defences are conceived as rejoinders to a theoretical attack on poetry. Sidney's essay is usually associated with the kind of anti-poetic statement often called "Puritan," such as Gosson's *School of Abuse*, although technically Gosson was not a Puritan and Sidney was. Shelley takes off from his friend Peacock's satire, *The Four Ages of Poetry*. The attacks are

not as obsolete as they look: Peacock's thesis, for instance, with considerably less of Peacock's wit and paradox, turned up more recently in Sir Charles Snow's account of the two cultures.

In most Elizabethan criticism we find some reference to the poet as having been dispossessed from a greater heritage. Sidney stresses this theme less than many of his contemporaries, but still it is there, attached to the common Renaissance assumption that in all human achievements the greatest are the earliest. In a distant past, even before Homer, a period associated with such legendary names as Musaeus, Linus and Orpheus, along with Zoroaster in religion and Hermes Trismegistus in philosophy, the poet, we are told, was the lawgiver of society, the founder of civilization. The reference is, of course, to what we should now call the conditions of an oral or pre-literate culture. An oral culture depends heavily on memory, and the obvious instrument of verbal memory is verse, the simplest and most primitive way of conventionalizing verbal expression. The professional poet in an oral culture is, if not exactly the lawgiver, at least the educator, the man who knows. That is, he is the man who remembers, and consequently knows the traditional and proper formulas of knowledge. He knows the names of the gods, their genealogy and their dealings with men; the names of the kings and the tribal legends, the stories of battles won and enemies conquered, the popular wisdom of proverbs and the esoteric wisdom of oracles, the calendar and the seasons, the lucky and unlucky days and the phases of the moon, charms and spells, the right methods of sacrifice, appropriate prayers and formulas for greeting strangers. In short, he knows the kind of thing that we can still see in the poetry of Homer and Hesiod.

The characteristics of oral poetry are familiar, the most familiar being the

formulaic unit, the stock epithets and the metrical phrases that can be moved around at will in a poetic process which is always close to improvisation. An oral culture is, necessarily, a highly ritualized one, and oral poetry has strong affinities with magic. There is magic in the great roll calls of names, like the Greek ships in Homer or the elemental spirits in Hesiod, in the carefully stereotyped descriptions of ritual and councils of war, in the oblique and riddling epithets like the Anglo-Saxon kenning, in the sententious reflections that express the inevitable reactions to certain recurring human situations. Magic means secret wisdom, the keys to all knowledge, as becomes more obvious when the poet's repertory of legend expands into a vast interlocking epic cycle. The Elizabethan critics (Sidney less than, for instance, Chapman) sensed a kind of encyclopaedic synthesis in Homer, and they had the same kind of sentimental admiration for it that many people in our day have had for the cultural synthesis of the Middle Ages. The ideal of universal knowledge achieved in and through poetry has continued to haunt poets and critics ever since.

Oral formulaic poetry has a driving power behind it that is very hard to recapture in individually conceived and written poetry. The sinewy strength of Homer is the despair of imitators and translators alike: the style is neither lofty nor familiar, neither naive nor ingenious, but passes beyond all such distinctions. We can get a clearer idea of the effect of such poetry, perhaps, from another formulaic art, the music of the high Baroque. In an intensely formulaic composer, such as Vivaldi, the same scale and chord passages, the same harmonic and melodic progressions, the same cadences, appear over and over again, yet the effect is not monotony but the release of a self-propelled energy. One of the keenest sources of pleasure in lis-

tening to poetry or music is the fulfilling of a *general* expectation, of a sort that is possible only in highly conventionalized art. If a particular expectation is being fulfilled, when we know exactly what is going to be said, as in listening to something very familiar, our attention is relaxed, and what we are participating in tends to become either a ritual or a bore, or possibly both. If we have no idea what is coming next, our attention is tense and subject to fatigue. The intermediate area, where we do not know what Pope will say but do know that he will say it in a beautifully turned couplet, where we do not know in a detective story who murdered X but do know that somebody did, is the area of closest unity between poet and audience.

So far as it is a technique, Homer's energy can be matched by the later poets of a writing culture, but the kind of general expectation he raises is based on something that hardly can be. This is the total empathy between poet and audience which arises when the poet is neither the teacher of his audience nor a spokesman for them, but both at once. Such a poet needs to make no moral judgements, for the standards implied are already shared. We cannot even call him a conservative, for that is still a partisan term, and in every judgement or reflective statement he does make he is formulating his hearer's thought as well as his own.

With the rise of writing techniques a major shift in cultural values sets in. Writing means, among other things, the development of prose, of verbal expression organized syntactically rather than rhythmically. With prose, philosophy ceases to be oracular and proverbial and becomes dialectical, depending on sustained argument and sequence. A mythical habit of mind is displaced by a more logical one. We now realize, thanks to such studies of Plato as Eric Havelock's, that Plato's attack on poets in the tenth

book of the *Republic* means exactly what it says: that the language of poetry leads not towards truth but towards illusion, and that poetry, specifically Homer, must be rejected as the primary instrument of education. Something parallel must have happened in Hebrew culture around the Deuteronomic reform, something which transformed a mass of legends and oracles into a sacred book.

In Plato's argument poetry is being rejected not merely as the primary mode of thought and learning, but as an encouragement to social action. For the oral poet is also concerned with the ritualized acts, what Yeats called the ceremony of innocence, around which social activity revolves in an oral culture. Plato considers the poet's version of reality to be inferior, not merely to the philosopher's, but to the artisan's or craftsman's as well. Most devaluations of poetry ever since, whether Platonic, Puritan, Marxist or Philistine, have been attached to some version of the work ethic which makes it a secondary or leisure-time activity.

With writing, in any case, the language of prose and reason comes to be regarded as the primary verbal expression of reality, however reality is conceived. This assumption is so firmly established in Sidney's day that he raises it only by implication. It is accepted that no poet can be regarded as having, in religion, the kind of authority that the theologian would have; and in history and morals too the language of poetry falls short of the language of what is considered literal truth. Many people in Sidney's day and later were obsessed with the values of a writing culture: religion for most of them was derived from a book; it was spiritually dangerous to be illiterate, yet the religion had to be understood from the book in the plainest possible terms. Hence the attitude of such pamphleteers as Gosson, who demanded to know why Plato was

not right, and why anything which is admitted to be fabulous should still have a claim on our attention.

Gosson is something of a straw man in Sidney, if he is there at all, and the sense of social threat is not very oppressive. The general liberal position of Sidney is contained within the same Christian framework of assumptions as that of the detractors of poetry. For Sidney, the ultimate aim of education, in the broadest sense, is the reform of the will, which is born in sin and headed the wrong way. Truth, by itself, cannot turn the will, but poetry in alliance with truth, using the vividness and the emotional resonance peculiar to it, may move the feelings to align themselves with the intelligence, and so help to get the will moving. Thus the function of poetry is rhetorical or persuasive. When writing techniques develop in society, the central oral figure becomes not the rhapsode but the rhetor, and for Sidney the poet's training is very similar to the orator's rhetorical training, as laid down by Cicero and Quintilian. Rhetoric, said Aristotle, is the *antistrophos*, the answering chorus, of truth; and whatever genuine social function the poet has depends on the consonance between his rhetoric and the rational disciplines, with their more exact relation to reality. The same conception of poetry as an emotional support is applied to social action, more particularly military courage, where poetry is discovered to be, not a corrupter of courage, but "the companion of camps."

In countering the attack on poetry as "fabulous," Sidney follows the line of argument which had also descended from Aristotle, that the truthful statement is the specific and particular statement. Poetry withdraws from particular statements: the poet never affirms or denies, and thus is able to combine the example of the historian with the precept of the moral philosopher. As compared with the

historian, the poet gives us the recurring or essential event: as compared with the moralist, he tells us not the essential but the existential truth, the kind of truth that can only be presented through illustration or parable. The principle emerging here, of which Sidney is as yet still imperfectly aware, is a distinction between what the poet says and what he illustrates or shows forth. What he says is of limited importance: whatever it is, other forms of verbal expression say it more accurately. He is, of course, greatly prized for his capacity to make sententious statements, of the kind that readers and schoolboys copied out in their commonplace books. But the more admirable the sentence, the more it is an echo of what we already know in a different way. What is distinctive about poetry is the poet's power of illustration, a power which is partly an ability to popularize and make more accessible the truths of revelation and reason. Hence the importance of the tag *ut pictura poesis*: poetry is a speaking picture. Gerard Manley Hopkins draws a distinction between a poet's "overthought," or explicit meaning, and his "underthought," or texture of images and metaphors. But in a writing culture a poet's underthought, his metaphorical or pictured meaning, tends to become the more important thought, and to some degree it even separates itself from the explicit statement.

The critical situation which Sidney is implicitly accepting may be stated something like this: in a writing culture the norms of meaning are established by the non-literary writers. It is the discursive prose writers who really mean what they say, and align their words clearly with the facts or propositions they are conveying. Compared with them, the poet's meaning is indirect, or ironic, as we should say now. When we try to grasp a poem's meaning, we begin with the meaning which the poem has in com-

mon with non-literary writing. We call this the literal meaning, though it is actually an allegorical meaning, something that relates the poem to something outside poetry. What the poem means apart from this is largely an emotional meaning, conveyed through various devices of rhetorical embellishment. For criticism based on this aspect of meaning, poems considered as content are essentially documents or records, whether of ideas or of the poet's experience; considered as forms they are products of rhetorical expertise. In either case the critic's function is primarily judicial or evaluative, concerned with the worth of what the poet is saying and with his success in saying it.

When we look at Shakespeare, we realize that Elizabethan culture is still very largely oral, and that the existence of a poetic theatre is evidence of the fact. In Shakespeare we see a good deal of the poet's original oral educating function still going on, most obviously in the histories. Shakespeare also shows the identification with the audience's attitude that the oral poet has. On the level of explicit statement, or what the play appears to be saying, he seems willing to accept the assumption, or implication, that Henry V was a glorious conqueror and Joan of Arc a wicked witch, that Shylock is typical of Jews and Judaism, that peasants are to be seen through the eyes of the gentry, that the recognized sovereign is the Lord's anointed and can cure diseases in virtue of being so, and many other things that the modern critic passes over in embarrassed silence. With Shakespeare we are still many centuries removed from T. S. Eliot's comparison of the explicit meaning of a poem to a piece of meat that a burglar throws to a watchdog to keep him quiet. But there is clearly something in the uncritical social postulates of Shakespeare that has to do with soothing popular anxieties and keeping a vigilant

and by no means unintelligent censorship from getting stirred up. I am not of course speaking of a conscious policy on Shakespeare's part: I am merely applying to him a principle which extends to all poetry. Questionable or dated social attitudes, as expressed in what appears to be the surface meaning, do not affect the real meaning of poetry, which is conveyed through a structure of imagery and action.

The Elizabethan critics were less contradictory than they may at first seem to be in saying, on the one hand, that the poet popularizes the rational disciplines, sugar-coats the pill, provides instruction for the simple, and on the other hand that great poetry is a treasure trove of esoteric wisdom which poets hid in parables "lest by profane wits it should be abused." Both these views of poetry can be understood through the same axiom of *ut pictura poesis*. Spenser, for instance, attempted in *The Faerie Queene* "a continued allegory or dark conceit" which would return proportionate rewards for a good deal of work. At the same time it is clear that his friend Gabriel Harvey regarded the poem, with its use of magic, medieval romance, the fairy world, the folk play of St. George, and in general of what he called "Hobgoblin run away with the garland from Apollo," as a concession to a relatively simple-minded audience.

The more completely the techniques of writing and the mental disciplines they create pervade a community, the more difficult it is for the poet to retain his traditional oral functions. Prose becomes fully mature and in command of its characteristic powers, and thereby begins to break away from poetry, which has nothing like its capacity for conceptual expression, and has a limited tolerance for the abstract language which is now becoming even the ordinary language of educated people. Ambiguity, which simply means bad or incompetent writing in

any logical or descriptive context, is a structural principle of poetry. In proportion as scientific and philosophical pictures of the world develop, the starkly primitive nature of poetic thought stands out more clearly. For poetry attempts to unite the physical environment to man through the primitive categories of analogy and identity, simile and metaphor, which, as Shakespeare's Theseus remarks, the poet shares, not with the rest of civilized society, but with lunatics and lovers. These categories are essentially the categories of magic, and the figure of the magician, who, like Orpheus, can charm the trees by his song is a figure of the poet as well. The function of magic, said Pico della Mirandola, is to "marry the world" (*maritare mundum*), and this naive anthropomorphic image remains close to the centre of all poetic metaphor. But magic no longer seems contemporary with the rest of thought.

Such are some of the paradoxes that Peacock dealt with in his brilliant satire *The Four Ages of Poetry*. According to this, poetry began in primitive times as "the mental rattle that awakened the attention of intellect in the infancy of civil society." The chief form of primitive poetry was, Peacock says, panegyric, which points to the identification of the poet with his community that we find in oral cultures. Poetry has its greatest flowering, or golden age, in the times immediately following, where habits of thought are still close to the primitive. But as civilization develops, Plato's prophecy becomes fulfilled, and the poet becomes more and more of an atavistic survival. "A poet in our times is a semi-barbarian in a civilized community. He lives in the days that are past. His ideas, thoughts, feelings, associations, are all with barbarous manners, obsolete customs, and exploded superstitions. The march of his intellect is like that of a crab, backward."

Peacock's essay is in part a comment on the rise of the Romantic movement, particularly on such features as its interest in the ballad and other forms of primitive verbal culture, its use of superstition and magic as poetic imagery, its withdrawal from urban culture and its tendency to seek its subjects in the simplest kinds of rural life. But everything that Peacock says about the age of Wordsworth and Coleridge applies far more to the age of D. H. Lawrence and Ezra Pound. He illustrates a stage of poetry in which the poet has lost the traditional function inherited from pre-literate days, and as a result has become separated from society. Yet the very isolation of the modern poet indicates a turning point in literary history. The poetic habit of mind, however primitive, is coming back into society, insisting on being recognized for itself and on being accorded some degree of autonomy and independence from the logical habit of mind.

We are first made aware, however, of the decline of the sense of the social relevance of poetry since Sidney's time, except insofar as it has become assimilated to the mental outlook of a writing culture. Sidney's case for the poet depends on a body of generally accepted social ideas and values. As society becomes more confident about these values, the help of the poet in publicizing them becomes less essential, and his role more curtailed. For Sidney the poet is, for example, potentially a religious influence. He accepts the Christian conception of two levels of nature, an upper level of human nature as God originally planned it, man's unfallen state, and a lower level of physical nature which is theologically "fallen." When he says that poetry develops a second nature, he is thinking of the power of the poet to present the ideal of the unfallen state in its most vivid possible form, as a speaking picture. But in a later age, under Boileau's influence,

the mysteries of religion are thought to be too high for the poet's ornamentation: on the other hand, the puerilities of heathen mythology are too low, and the poet should outgrow his hankering for them. Of the traditional qualities of oral poetry, the one that chiefly survives, in the age of Pope, is the sententious, the capacity to formulate "What oft was thought, but ne'er so well expressed." The high value set on this aspect of poetry continues well into Victorian times. But otherwise the elements that make Homer the cornerstone of our poetic tradition are precisely the elements that come to be most despised. Catalogues and lists and mnemonic verses of the "Thirty days hath September" type, quoted by Coleridge, are now regarded as poetry's lowest achievement; the formulaic unit becomes the cliché; the reverence for convention, of doing things because this is the way they are done, gives place to a law of copyright and a cult of uniqueness.

The poet's role of telling his society what his society should know is even more drastically inverted. In this connexion Peacock makes the comment: "As to that small portion of our contemporary poetry . . . which, for want of a better name, may be called ethical, the most distinguished portion of it, consisting merely of querulous, egotistical rhapsodies, to express the writer's high dissatisfaction with the world and every thing in it, serves only to confirm what has been said of the semi-barbarous character of poets, who from singing dithyrambics and 'Io Triumphe,' while society was savage, grow rabid, and out of their element, as it becomes polished and enlightened." The most intellectually tolerant of critics, studying the ideas or opinions of Yeats, D. H. Lawrence, Ezra Pound, Robert Graves, or Wyndham Lewis, is bound to be puzzled, even distressed, by the high proportion of freakish and obscurantist views he finds and

the lack of contact they show with whatever the ideas are that actually do hold society together. In the twentieth century an important and significant writer may be reactionary or superstitious: he may even be a bloody-minded kook, like Céline. The one thing apparently that he cannot be is a spokesman of ordinary social values. The popular poems of our day are usually poems of explicit statement, continuing the sententious tradition, but such poems seem as a rule to be out of touch with the real poetic idioms of their times. Recently in an interviewing program on the Canadian radio, a Toronto hippie remarked that the world would have no problems left if everyone would only read Kipling's "If" and live by it. One feels that in our day a remark of that kind could be attached only to a substandard poem. Those who express the ideas and symbols that hold society together are not the poets; they are not even the orators who succeeded them, so much as men of action with a power over the sententious utterance which operates mainly outside literature, and who usually arise in a revolutionary situation. Such men of action include Jefferson, and later Lincoln, in this country, and the great Marxist leaders, Lenin and Mao.

In spite of the close affinity between metaphor and magic, one might have thought that, as the authority of science established itself, poets would become the heralds of science, as they had earlier been the heralds of religion. Many great poets, such as Dante, had in fact absorbed and used most of the essential science of their day. But after about Newton's time it became increasingly clear that most poets were not going to make much more than a random and occasional use of imagery derived from science, or even from technology. What had attracted earlier poets to the science contemporary with them was clearly a certain schematic and mythical quality in

it, associations of seven planets with seven metals and the like, which science itself had outgrown. This schematic quality survived only in a kind of intellectual underground inhabited by occultists, theosophists, mystagogues and scryers, yet, curiously enough, this was where many poets turned for intellectual support. Further, as we see in Yeats, such interests are so triumphantly vindicated in the poetry itself that it seems clear that they are connected with the actual language of poetry, and are not simply a removable obstacle to appreciating it. The relation of poetry to religion has been much closer, and many modern poets have been most eloquent in their support of the Christian religion. One wonders whether that may not be connected with the fact that Christianity is more primitive in its mythology than Judaism or Marxism or the highly intellectualized versions of Oriental religions that reach us.

Shelley begins his answer to Peacock by neatly inverting the hierarchy of values implied in Sidney. Sidney is concerned to show that poetry is a genuine instrument of education, along with religion, morality and law, but their claim to be educational is prior and unquestioned. Shelley puts all the discursive disciplines into an inferior group of "analytic" operations of reason. They are aggressive; they think of ideas as weapons; they seek the irrefutable argument, which keeps eluding them because all arguments are theses, and theses are half-truths implying their own opposites. Some of the discursive writers are defenders of the social status quo: not only do they fail to defend it, but they exasperate and embitter a society in which the rich get richer and the poor poorer. There are also liberal and radical discursive writers: they are on Shelley's side and he approves of them, but being only the other half of the argumentative disciplines, the amount of good they can

do is limited. The works of imagination, by contrast, cannot be refuted: poetry is the dialectic of love, which treats everything it encounters as another form of itself, and never attacks, only absorbs.

This view of poetry cannot be affected by the notion that Peacock pretends to accept, that mankind progresses through reason to greater enlightenment, and that poetry, like the less interesting types of religion, is committed to the values of an outworn past. The metaphor of creation, if it is a metaphor, is not new with the Romantics, and most of the better Elizabethan critics understood what is meant by "creative" very well. But in Sidney's day it was accepted that the models of creation were established by God: the city, the garden, the code of law, the essential myths themselves, were part of a divine revelation. For Shelley, man has made his own civilization and is responsible for it, and at the centre of his creation are the poets, whose work provides the models of human society. Thus poetry once again, as in primitive times, becomes mythopoeic, but this time its myths embody and express man's creation of his own culture, and not his reception of it from a divine source.

Shelley says that poetry is "that to which all science must be referred." There is a reality out there, a reality which is given and has in itself no moral significance, which science studies, and there is the reality which does not exist to begin with, but is brought into being through a certain kind of creative activity. This latter kind of created reality does have moral significance, and enters into everything that, since Shelley's time, we have learned to call concern: into man's questions about his destiny and situation, the meaning of his life and death, his relation to past and future, to God and to society. The articulating of concern cannot base itself on science or any discursive discipline, nor can it any longer echo or support what they say.

The mythical confronts the logical, evaluates it and assimilates it to the concerns of human existence. If it encounters an important scientific conception, like evolution, it can neither argue with it nor expound it: it can only throw up a mythical analogy to it, as Bernard Shaw does, or a mythical repudiation of it, as D. H. Lawrence does.

Consequently it is no good attaching a pejorative meaning to the word "primitive." Poetry which is not primitive is of no use to anybody: every genuine work of the imagination comes out of the most primitive depths of human concern. I say "depths" because of all the subterranean and oracular imagery in Shelley. Poetry for him comes from an area which, though superior to consciousness, is metaphorically hidden and underneath, in what we now call the subconscious. Because this oracular power has assumed the authority formerly ascribed to God's revelation, it is surrounded with a good deal of resonant rhetoric about "that imperial faculty, whose throne is curtained within the invisible nature of man." Such a formulation may tend, in later Romantics, to lead to a certain amount of displaced racism and an unhealthy emphasis on the immense difference between those few who are born geniuses and the rest of us mediocrities. The implications in Shelley, despite the rhetoric, are more interesting.

Shelley says that our perception of given reality, the world out there, tends to become habitual, hence a pernicious mental habit develops of regarding the unchanging as the unchangeable, and of assimilating human life to a conception of predictable order. But poetry, says Shelley, "creates anew the universe, after it has been annihilated in our minds by the recurrence of impressions blunted by reiteration." Hence the poetic and the revolutionary impulses are interdependent. No genuine change in society can

take place except through realizing that the imagination, which conceives the form of society, is the source of the power of change. This conception of poetry as essentially and primarily revolutionary is, of course, inconsistent with the Marxist view of revolution. Marxism returned to the view of Sidney, that poetry's social function is to echo and support the more accurate and less emotional approaches to truth made by the discursive verbal disciplines. The bourgeois culture of Shelley's day took the same view, in a much more naive form. Hence Shelley's phrase "unacknowledged legislators." The poet's function is still his primitive oral function of defining and illustrating the nature of the society that man is producing; but nobody realizes it.

Every great poem is a product of its time, and is consequently subject to the anxieties of its time. It is an implicit part of Shelley's argument that an authentic reading of poetry reads it by its imaginative "underthought" and not by its explicit conformity to contemporary prejudice, or what he calls, in connexion with Calderon, "the rigidly-defined and ever-repeated idealisms of a distorted superstition." If, for instance, we read Dante's *Inferno* as a poem conforming to or coming to terms with anxieties about a life of unending torment after death awaiting most of those who do not make an acceptable deal with the Church, then, from Shelley's normal point of view, writing such a poem would be an act of treachery to the human race far lower than anything done by Dante's three traitors, Brutus, Cassius, and Judas Iscariot, all of whom must have acted from better motives. But, of course, we read the *Inferno* through its imagery and action, as a representation of the actual life of man. Reading all poems in terms of their presented or illustrated meaning, we come to realize that there are no dead ideas in literature. The imagination operates in a counter-historical direction—

it redeems time, to use a phrase which is Shelleyan as well as Biblical, if in a different context—and literature exists totally in the present tense as a total form of verbal imagination. Shelley speaks of this total form as “that great poem, which all poets, like the co-operating thoughts of one great mind, have built up since the beginning of the world.”

The post-Platonic or allegorical conception of poetic meaning, according to which poetry is aligned by its meaning to something outside itself, has produced a strong critical reaction in our time. Meaning is centripetal as well as centrifugal: words in a poem are to be understood by their function in that poem as well as by their conventional or dictionary meanings. Hence a strong emphasis on the importance of centripetal meaning, in short, on explication. But the words used in a poem are used in other poems as well as in nonliterary structures, and not only words but images and metaphors and rhythmical patterns and conventions and genres. This leads us to a conception of poetic meaning which is not allegorical, taking us outside literature, but archetypal, placing the poem in its literary context, and completing our understanding of its structure by relating it to the rest of our literary experience. The lightning flash of Shelley's phrase illuminates the contemporary critic's *pons asinorum*, the bridge leading from the secure routines of explication over to the other shore of criticism.

Ever since Plato the question has been raised: in what sense does the poet know what he is talking about? The poet seems to have some educational function without being himself necessarily an educator. He knows what he is doing, but *qua* poet can say nothing beyond his poem. Hence the need for the educational aspect of his function to be taken over by someone else. In oral days he had

only the rhapsode, who, as Socrates demonstrates in the *Ion*, really knows nothing at all. With the rise of writing and more sequential forms of thinking the critic appears as the social complement of the poet. In Sidney's view of poetry the critic retains his traditional role as judge, as a spokesman for society's response to poetry. But Shelley's conception of it makes the critic rather a student of mythology. The whole subject of which criticism forms part, then, on this view, is the study of how society produces, responds to, and uses its myths, or structures of concern, in which the poetic structures are central. This subject has not yet been defined, but it embraces large segments of psychology, anthropology, philosophy, history, and comparative religion as well as criticism.

We still habitually read poetry through its indirect or illustrated meaning, and critics have developed very subtle techniques of doing so. Something has to be allowed here for the influence of the film, with its vivid emphasis on symbolic detail. We tend also to assume, with Auden, that if a poet seems to be “silly like us,” God pardons all poets who can write well. This situation has not changed much since Shelley's time, and it would be premature to attempt a third defence. But the cultural changes of the last two decades or so make it obvious that we are beginning to move into a different cultural orbit, and one which is recapturing many of the qualities of pre-literate culture. The revival of oral poetry is the most obvious of these new factors: poetry read or recited to groups which is close to improvisation, usually has some kind of musical accompaniment or background, and often takes the form of commentary on a current social issue. When we think of contemporary poetry we think not so much of a small group of great poets as of a kind of diffused creative energy, much of which takes fairly ephemeral forms. It used to be

assumed that every creative effort worthy the name was aiming at permanence, and so was really addressed to posterity, but this notion does not have the prestige it once had.

This situation is so new that the critical values it implies are not yet absorbed. Of the poets of the previous generation, perhaps Wallace Stevens, with his studiously oblique avoidance of direct statement, is the most widely respected today: in the last year I had five graduate students proposing to write doctoral dissertations on him, and managed to talk only three of them out of it. In contrast, Vachel Lindsay seems to be a neglected and patronized figure; yet the spirit of a great deal of poetic activity today is closer to Lindsay than to Stevens. Poetry which addresses a visible audience must win the sympathy of that audience, and hence a surface of explicit statement, embodying social attitudes that the audience can share, comes back into poetry. Of the characteristics of an oral culture that are once again with us, one is what Wyndham Lewis recognized and deplored, as the "dithyrambic spectator." Such poetry demands a consolidation of social opinion. We shall not, I hope, go so far as to retribalize our culture around formulaic units, as China is now doing with the thoughts of Chairman Mao. But a similar oral context, and a similar appeal to immediate emotional response, is obviously reappearing in our literature.

Our society appears to be in a revolutionary phase in which the revolutionary side of the movement has been more successful than the Marxist movement of thirty years ago was in capturing the loyalties of creative and articulate people. The revolution of our time is not, like Marxism, directed at the centres of economic power: it is rather a psychologically based revolution, a movement of protest directed at the anxieties of privilege. It does not fight for the work-

ers against the exploiters: it attacks and ridicules the work ethic itself. It does not see Negro segregation or the Vietnam war merely as by-products of a class struggle: it sees the fears and prejudices involved in these issues as primary, and the insecurity that inspires them as the real enemy. A revolutionary movement of this kind is one in which the arts can play a central and functional role. A Marxist writer who finds his enemy in capitalism has to construct a literary analogue or illustration to a philosophy, like Sidney's poet. But in the situation around us the artist has an enemy that he can recognize and deal with in his own terms: the enemy of anti-art, the psychological defences of advertising and propaganda which occupy the place of the arts if they are not dislodged. The author of a play designed to shock or outrage us with, say, the Vietnam war is engaged in a direct moral struggle with the newspaper photograph or the political speech that is designed to accustom us to it. A militant art of this kind can never find itself in the position of a Marxist artist after the revolution takes place, suddenly required to turn from protest to panegyric. The revolution it fights for can never "take place." It is permanent revolution in the strictest sense, society engaged in a perpetual critique of itself, reforming and reclarifying its own mythology, its own troubled and inconsistent but still crusading vision of what it might be.

All kinds of people are involved in this situation: I am saying only that the social function of the artist in it is getting a little easier to see. Some issues which a generation ago were largely literary conventions have now become expanded and clarified as social issues. Take, for example, the conception of the obscene expression. The celebrated four-letter words raise few eyebrows today, because the taboo on them never was based on much more than reflex. The

real obscenities of our time, the words that no self-respecting person would seriously use, are the words that express hatred or contempt for people of different nationality, religion, or skin color, and the taboo on them is founded on a more solid idea of what is socially dangerous.

Every new movement in its turn has its attendant dangers, and the dangers of a revived oral culture are the dangers of mob rule, a confusion of sincerity with prejudice, and a tendency to rationalized destructiveness which is endemic in the boredom of an affluent society. One obvious result of the revival of oral poetry is an increase of anti-intellectualism. Poetry can never be as abstracted from concern as music, and while a separation of music into classical and popular is socially accepted, a similar separation of poetry would be, I think, disastrous. There are both mythical and logical habits of mind in the world now, the cultural presuppositions of an oral as well as of a writing culture, and the critic has to understand both and neglect neither. It is fashionable to speak of the lineal habit of mind derived from writing as something no longer with it, but, left to itself, this tendency would go in the direction of the "think with your blood" exhortations of the Nazis a generation ago.

The critic's social context, therefore, is not merely the social context of poetry: he has also an obligation to work for all forms of a sympathetic public response to literature. I have suggested that the revolutionary attitude of our time is directed primarily against the anxieties of a privileged society. Its main impetus derives from the resentment of the underprivileged, with a supporting movement from the self-criticism or disillusionment of the already privileged. Ours is an age where a revolutionary drawing of lines may occur at any time for any reason. But such events are the crises

and not the ordinary process of history, and, of course, not all anxieties are reactionary ones. There is much that is action and much that is only activism, genuine issues and phony issues, protests aiming at reform and protests aiming only at protest. These matters are complex, and I am not competent to pronounce on them. But I have a suspicion that one sign of the phony issue is a tendency to attach itself to a mental attitude similar to those underlying the attacks on poetry that Sidney and Shelley resisted. The anxieties of privilege are usually thought to be centered on the past, and to take the form of a dread of change. But this feeling, when it exists, may be a disguise for a deeper fear which is future-directed.

I said that Sidney's case for the poet depended on a body of socially accepted values. Shelley's defence assumes a society in which accepted values are continually being re-examined and recreated. All genuine work in society helps to do this, and the value of poetry is partly that it shows most clearly how genuine social work is focussed on the present moment. All forms of study and education increase the significance of the present moment, but for the experience of the creative arts the present moment must be not merely significant but also pleasurable. There are also in society, however, those who are victims of the anxiety caused by the lack of solid or permanent values. This anxiety can no longer look back to the past, but is forced into a view of progress, assuming that genuine social work is directed toward reaching such values in the near future. Science and technology progress and develop, and so help to create the sense of a rational order that is just about to become clear. Such a feeling has of course nothing to do with either science or technology, but is a social mirage, like flying saucers.

There is thus a collision between two social attitudes. One sees the significant

and pleasurable moment as, at best, a distraction from the future-directed work of society. We require from our public leaders the abstracted gaze of the car driver, looking forward to the imminent. This attitude often comes to us in a donkey's-carrot form: we can attend to the significant moment as soon as some particular social hurdle is got over first. The appeal seems plausible until we start noticing that there is a series of hurdles, and that the series never comes to an end. The Puritans were more realistic in seeing that the temporary hurdle could only be life itself, and could only be surmounted by death. In the society of our day the unhappiest people are those who, in Sir Charles Snow's phrase, have the future in their bones: who convince themselves, every night, that Godot will infallibly come tomorrow. They are the predestined victims for any popular political or intellectual leader who employs the sales pitch that anyone following him is peering into the future, and that everyone else is condemned to stare gloomily at the past.

The opposed view is that the significant and pleasurable moment is the

centre of real activity, and the activity which postpones this moment the real distraction. There is thus some truth in the conception of the poet as an obstacle to progress, in Peacock's ironic sense of the word. The energy with which literature devotes itself today to techniques of absurdity, fantasy and the dissolving of identity is part of its fight against the hallucination of a coming order, and it is a very curious critical illiteracy that makes us speak of such techniques as "avant-garde."

The centre of the anxiety of privilege, as we keep searching for it, seems to be first a fear of the significant moment, then a fear of pleasure itself, and then, perhaps, a fear of taking the privilege which is ours by right, and is not gained at someone else's expense. We can probably never define so elusive a phantom, but what it is trying to hide from our view is what Sidney calls the golden world that poetry offers us for nature's brazen one, and what Shelley calls the common universe of which we are portions and percipients.

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ON THE OBJECT OF LITERARY CHANGE

One often hopes that theory might benefit from the imminence of practice. The theoretical questions that are posed by the organization of literary history are seldom simple and never superficial. Today we are reminded of these questions by the "History of European Literature" which the Hungarian Academy of Sciences is planning in cooperation with the International Comparative Literature Association. This project fully deserves the support and collaboration of comparatists everywhere. In the initial stages, our support may well take the form of theoretical discussions concerning the basic problems of literary history.¹

The leading role that is being assumed by the Hungarian Academy is a fortunate circumstance. The very remarkable contribution of Hungarian scientists, humanists, and artists to the intellectual life of this century is evident to all. Hungary's central position in Europe, its contacts with the most varied trends of thought, its independence from those chauvinistic or ethnocentric instincts that weigh so heavily in the balance when either Western or Eastern Europeans contemplate their past, are all conditions that augur well for the future of this enterprise.

Two general features of the plan are most attractive. The first is very obvious, and the other slightly less so. We are promised a genuinely comparative history of European literature, first of all, in the sense that the readers will not be provided merely with a row of so-called national literatures, neatly contiguous, with the addition of remarks on influences, borrowings and translations. What is at stake is the kind of historical category or strategy that could generate an overall view of European literature. Secondly, it seems that the principal instrument of historical organization across national boundaries will not be the notion of literary period. This could initiate a salutary reaction against the widespread tendency in comparative studies to replace the traditional emphasis on national literatures, as they appear "horizontally" or diachronically, with a renewed stress on the synchrony, or rather the pseudo-synchrony, of international periods, eras or epochs.² We have been told that the proposed History of European Literature will be based on "courants littéraires" or "literary movements." These terms, as Tudor Vianu pointed out in the 1962 Budapest conference,³ are very much in need of clarification. Nevertheless, they imply an

awareness of the fact that currents or movements coexist and clash within a single section of time. They suggest a sensitive perception of historical becoming, that is to say, of the processes and confrontations of the past.

We have also been told that a substantial question remains unanswered: that of the limits of what is meant by European literature. The problem, it is suggested, is not so much temporal as it is spatial or "geographical": should one include all literatures or significant literary works written in European languages across the world, from Manila eastwards to Vladivostok? Some who answer this question in the affirmative go so far as to maintain, with Mihály Babits,⁵ that European literature, in the broadest sense, ought to be defined typologically. A literary class or set of classes would constitute its real identity.

I am inclined to support the position of the "little Europeans." The proposed field of study should be qualified and circumscribed for the following reasons. A typological definition may be the final product of a survey, but it does not coincide with it. The survey itself, the narrative of European literature in the making, unfolds a sequence of events, not a class beyond time. Keeping in mind that we are dealing with a process of change, the fundamental question that arises is that of the relationship between the narrative of literary events and the itinerary of the peoples and societies from which these events emerged. Who were the agents of such a history? Who made the events possible? To whom did they happen? Such queries can scarcely be avoided, and it would seem odd for the literary critic to appoint himself a historian while showing an utter disregard for the *identity* of his historical subject. This does not mean that I am prejudging the nature of the relationship between what the Russian formalists call the "literary series" and

the "historical series." Though the two series may be far from equivalent, or even parallel, an unequivocal connection should exist between the spatio-temporal limits of the one and the corresponding limits of the other. And we are thus led to rely on how the concept of Europe itself is isolated by the social or the political historian.⁶

With this purpose in mind, I am substantially persuaded by the conclusions of Oscar Halecki in *The Limits and Divisions of European History* (1950). European civilization, with its basic Germanic, Scandinavian and Slavic components, develops in an area and in a section of time that are distinct from those of its Greco-Roman predecessor, whose center was the Mediterranean. Ernst Robert Curtius' bias in his *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter* is that, while stressing the continuity of a literary series, he neglects the profound changes that took place in the historical series from one civilization to another. This passage takes the form not of a transition from "period" to "period," but of a thousand-year long process of cultural change. It coincides with Christianization, and it begins much before the fall of the Roman Empire. As Alfons Dopsch and Christopher Dawson have shown, it continues till at least the year 1000—or perhaps, till the conversion of the Lithuanians in 1387, or of the Spanish New Christians during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The imposition of Christian unity on the Iberian peninsula represents, for good or ill, the final Europeanization of Spain and Portugal, while making possible at the same time, through the creations of Cervantes and other Spanish artists, the injection of semitic-oriental elements into the bloodstream of European civilization.⁷ The example of Spain is methodologically central because it visibly indicates that history is composed not

of a sequence of periods but of the co-existence and confrontation of processes.

While Europeanization was still taking place in the Iberian peninsula, the discovery and conquest of America marked the beginning of the most creative of all processes of dissolution. Europe as a self-centered, distinct civilization ceases to exist even as it expands and begets and exports itself across the planet. I suspect that these observations apply also to the limits and configurations of European literature, which can be distinguished from a broader "Western literature." The transformation of Europe into a Western or an Atlantic community may be reaching its crucial stages today, even though the themes and the procedures of Greco-Roman poetry can reappear in Manila or in Vladivostok. It could be pointed out that there is usually a time-lag between the temporal boundaries of a civilization and that of its literature, as continuity and "conservatism" are such strong factors in the literary field. But ultimately one is led to recognize that Europe does not coincide with the West, and that its proper dimensions have been much smaller—the coordinates of differentiation that made us so aware of the distinctions between Florentines and Neapolitans, Czechs and Slovaks, Catalans and Andalusians. To restrict Europe in space and time is to stress this essential texture, and to perceive how different it is from the dimensions of Western civilization today.

Yet there are even larger questions that call for preliminary discussion. Had we no longer any doubts concerning the "practical" limits of our topic, certain decisions would still have to be made with regard to not only the character but the very objectives of literary history. For the basic principles of literary *history* as an intellectual discipline continue to appear, to say the truth, unclear. Surely, the same does not apply

to literary *criticism*. The efforts and procedures of criticism, at the very least, tend to converge on individual objects. These objects are works of art. It is always possible for the critic to rely on the unity or "form" of the literary work, and to expect that his own responses will evidence a minimum of integrity. But what holds a particular history of literature together? No historian limits himself to holding up a mirror to a past "reality" that has been previously sorted out and arranged for him; today we know that historiography is unavoidably "constructive." As the student of literature moves away from the single work of art and approaches the wider expanses of historiography, the choice of a "constructive" principle becomes increasingly necessary.

There can be no objective without an object, no history without a core that may serve as the protagonist of the historian's narrative, or at least as an occasion for the perception of change. A row of single poems, stories and plays arranged against the background and the drama of political or social history, like a string of corks bobbing on the ocean, does not offer us a picture of the change—and therefore the history—of literature. It is not the predicates but the subjects of the historian's discourse that stand in need of initial clarification. "No science is possible which does not have its distinct object," writes René Wellek (*A History of Modern Criticism: 1750-1950*, I, 230) concerning Kant's identification of an "aesthetic realm" in the *Critique of Judgment*. The main question concerning the "science" of literary history is what the nature of its object is.

The concept of Europe will not come to our rescue now, as it did a moment ago when spatial boundaries were being discussed. The question remains, vis-à-vis such a broad area, of what the province of the literary historian actually is.

What is the object of his investigations, and how does it differ from that of other historians? We know, to be sure, that to ask a question, to identify a problem, constitutes the beginning of an approach toward the field under study. It may be that the guileless question I have just raised implies such an approach: the attempt to regard the student of literature, from the start, as a historian *among historians*.

A negative check might confirm this point. Let us notice in passing what is *not* being asked: the age-old question as to the relationship between "literature" and "history." Aristotle laid down a famous distinction between the two in his *Poetics* (1451b): history presents what has happened, literature (or poetry) what may happen; literature tends to express the universal, history the particular, etc. Aristotle's topic was the nature of poetry, and its different species (these two, the nature of poetry and the division into species, being closely interconnected); so that he naturally found it useful to emphasize the contrast between the achievement of the poet and that of the historian. His concern was not with the theory or with the various kinds of *history* (though he began to practice literary history in the *Poetics*: 1448b, etc.); the modern theorist's is, for his task begins where the aesthetician's ends—or where the "philosopher of poetry" is replaced by the philosopher of history. We do not doubt that an authentic corpus of poetry exists—for example, a number of sixteenth-century Spanish poems. We assume that these poems have already "happened," and have already been differentiated from the accomplishment of those other sixteenth-century Spaniards who conducted scientific experiments, carved statues of saints, waged wars, built cities, destroyed civilizations. The question concerning the connections that could have existed between the efforts

of these men and the works of the poets is not that of the relationship between "literature" and "history": it is entirely dependent, instead, on the skills of the modern historian, and the ways in which he organizes the scattered data that he possesses—military, social, political, etc. We are dealing basically with the relations between *literary history* itself and *social history, political history, economic history*, etc.

The theory of history that one might support, then, would postulate (as Aristotle did with regard to literature in the *Poetics*) that there are several "species" of history. *Literary history* would exhibit, whatever its aim or its character, some measure of "specificity." Now, I quite understand that autonomy and specificity are two very different things, and I am not suggesting for an instant that the history of literature be considered in glorious isolation from that of societies, economies, or dominant values. I am so much concerned with historicity, in fact, that I assume that literature is not exempt from it. I assume that it is not fruitful to continue to speak about "literature" in a purely aesthetic, rhetorical, non-historical manner, on the one hand, and on the other, of "history," and, after having severed the two so neatly, to struggle for meaningful "relations" between them. It is preferable to discuss the connections between literature and either society or language from a radically historical point of view, that is, while regarding each of these systems as intrinsically (at least in part) diachronic and changeable. Thus our question seeks to identify the goal which makes of the discipline under consideration both a "specific" enterprise and a genuine province of history. This means, most probably, that the object of literary history must itself admit of change. The working hypothesis of the historian is that historical change does not flow *around* his topic; but that, rather, the

careers of society, language, and literature all compose processes—flowing, as it were, simultaneously and side by side, though with different speeds or rhythms. Surely as far as historical discourse is concerned, one is likely to accept A. N. Whitehead's idea that the notions of process and existence, or of process and individuality, presuppose each other. As Whitehead writes in *Modes of Thought*: "Process and individuality require each other. In separation all meaning evaporates. The form of process . . . derives its character from the individuals involved, and the characters of the individuals can only be understood in terms of the process in which they are implicated."²⁸ With regard to the study of literature in historical time, "specificity" and "historicity" are two inseparable requirements. And their union reflects within our discipline the interlocking of what Whitehead calls in his metaphysics "process" and "individuality."

I should add that I do not propose to confuse these "individuals" of literary history (the specific objects of literary change) with the isolated works of art. Critics have often tried to link entire historical periods, in the broad sense, with single literary works. Stylisticians have gone further: having analyzed a particular style, an effort would be made—for example, by Leo Spitzer—to identify in a single verbal device the microcosm of contemporary *Geistesgeschichte*. From a historian's point of view, these are implausible endeavors. Let us suppose for a moment that the opposite were being attempted. Let us return to those sixteenth-century men I mentioned a while ago—Spaniards who waged wars, conquered civilizations, built churches and cities. One would pick a singular action: the construction, say, of one of the three hundred and sixty-five churches in Cholula and its vicinity. What would the analogous procedure be? One would go on to show a

satisfactory and sufficient relationship between this individual occurrence and the entire design of *Siglo de Oro* Spanish literature. Doubtless no sane scholar would waste his time on such a hypothesis. It would be disingenuous to pretend that even the building of all the churches in Mexico could be discussed seriously without the previous insertion of these actions into the appropriate economic, political, or religious frameworks.

Where historical facts of this sort are concerned, one does not ordinarily suppose that an isolated event is fully representative, "emblematic," or "symbolical," of entire economic conjunctures or processes of social change. Yet a similar notion, to go back to the individual poetic work, can be accepted by the literary critic. The reason for this is that the verbal work of art has long been regarded as essentially emblematic or symbolical—and artistic "form," or expressive form, as a kind of mediation between the One and the Many. In Aristotle's opinion, literature tended to express the universal, while history related the particular. Among the Romantics, especially, it was believed that the poet, like a prophet or a seer, was a pursuer of the absolute. Schelling affirmed that only symbolism in art, as distinguished from abstract thought or allegory, was capable of presenting the general through the particular. Coleridge found in the Imagination the means to "make the changeful God be felt in the river, the lion and the flame . . ." (Wellek, *A History of Modern Criticism: 1750-1950*, II, 76, 163) etc. An interesting instance, because of its apparently structural terminology, is one of Friedrich Schlegel's longer aphorisms from the *Athenäum*. Schlegel praises the ancient Greek poets' feeling for both "individuals" and "systems," and asks whether any systems, or "real unities," exist that are not historical:

Kann man etwas andres charakterisieren als Individuen? Ist, was sich auf einem gewissen gegebenen Standpunkte nicht weiter multiplizieren lässt, nicht ebenso gut eine historische Einheit, als was sich nicht weiter dividieren lässt? Sind nicht alle Systeme Individuen, wie alle Individuen auch wenigstens im Keime und der Tendenz nach Systeme? Ist nicht alle reale Einheit historisch? Gibt es nicht Individuen, die ganze Systeme von Individuen in sich enthalten? (*Charakteristiken und Kritiken*, I, No. 242, p. 205)

It would be possible to show that these Romantic ideas underlie Benedetto Croce's well-known invitation to discover in the individual work of art a concentrated, meaningful expression of "history." Insofar as universal history unfolds, in post-Hegelian terms, the career of the Spirit, one can find no better access to this necessary evolution than the appreciation of art. The single work of art, Croce writes in a 1917 essay, "La riforma della storia artistica e letteraria," encloses the entire world and all of history in a single form, "tutto l'universo e tutta la storia in una forma singola" (*Nuovi saggi di estetica*, 4th ed., p. 177). This form can be grasped only by the kind of literary criticism which is oriented toward the "individual" (*critica individualizzante*); and literary history must therefore consist of a series of monographs or single essays. These ideas were well received by some of the more distinguished critics in Italy. Francesco Flora has stated that the history of literature "absorbs" all the other materials of history, which only art can transform into "content." Luigi Russo exacerbates Croce's thought and goes so far as to write that literary history is a task for "retarded minds" ("una fatica di menti arretrate").¹⁰ Apropos of Karl Vossler's study of the *Divina Commedia*, Russo writes that world history has become "incarnated" in the great poet's spiritual vision.

Bisogna giungere al concetto che la poesia è, sì, fantasma, sogno, lirica visione; ma fantasma, sogno, lirica visione che nasce nella storia. Non nella storia presa nella sua esistenza obiettiva, come qualche cosa che esista lì, di fronte al poeta, e con la quale egli debba fare i conti, ma nella storia che si è incarnata, si è contrattata in lui, e in cui consiste e di cui irrundermente si fa tutto il suo spirito . . . Così si può dire che l'artista, generando la sua poesia, genera al tempo stesso tutta una storia del mondo, da cui pur quella poesia nasce. Ebbene: indagare quella storia del mondo contratta in lui, e da lui attualmente generata, val quanto spiegare il nascimento della poesia stessa. (*La critica letteraria contemporanea*, p. 254).

The obvious circularity of this notion is difficult to counter: a rebuttal would require a thoroughgoing discussion of the postulates that are involved. For example, I have assumed that there are several "species" of history, whereas Russo implies that there is only one. But if even such questions were to be left aside, the following difficulty would remain: that historians cannot dispense with time. The product or culmination of history which Russo perceives in an isolated poem cannot possibly coincide with the process, the sequence, the narrative, of history *itself*. The historian arranges diachronically a series of "particulars," to use the Aristotelian term—whatever the scope of the particulars may be. Even though Russo's ideal critic may deal with the genesis of the poem (as in the poetics of Walter Binni), he goes on to focus on the ways in which a narrative of events "contracts" into timelessness. He is, in short, a spurious historian. To be sure, it cannot be denied that it has been fruitful to define the "spiritual unity" of singular historical periods or epochs, like the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. But the Renaissance is *not* "tutta la storia in una forma singola." In this sense, as a

"particular" of history, it is comparable to the concept of national literature. Croce argued most persuasively that the unitary idea of national literature—as when certain critics spoke of the "genius," the "character," or the "sense," of Italian literature—is not a valid critical category. (Cf. "Storie nazionalistiche e modernistiche della letteratura," *Nuovi saggi di estetica*, p. 181ff). Luigi Russo followed suit in a long essay entitled "Ritorni ed esaurimento di vecchie ideologie romantiche" (*La critica letteraria contemporanea*, p. 376-392). Croce's point was that art expresses both the individual and the generally human, but not that half-way house called the nation—"essendo l'arte in quanto arte sempre individuale e sempre universale, e perciò sempre soprnazionale" (*Nuovi saggi di estetica*, p. 271). National literatures, that is, are neither particulars nor universals. The same applies to whatever portion of history a single poem may symbolize.

We saw earlier that the diachronic study of literature implied two requirements: "historicity" and "specificity." A third requirement, then, would be "structure," or "system," or "integration." I shall soon return to these terms, with which the linguist and the social scientist are familiar. Essentially, the literary historian cannot be satisfied with an atomistic approach to literature (though the critic may). Insofar as history demands interpretation, and interpretation rests upon constructive principles, it is not sufficient to enumerate—to arrange a row of individual objects. This seems evident enough when the subject is European literature. But even if the topic were less ambitious, literary history would still presuppose the existence of extensive processes and configurations rather than of merely partial or isolated events. In practice, this is what the better literary historians have achieved. In theory, there is

much that remains to be done, and it is generally thought today that the most useful analogies can be drawn from linguistics and the social sciences—especially from the latter.

In his essay "An Introduction to Linguistics" (1937) (*Essais linguistiques*, p. 18-20), Louis Hjelmslev discussed the differences between the broad view of linguistic systems and the regional study of linguistic change: the latter he called "idiodiachrony," as opposed to "pandiacroney." Similarly, the concern of the historian of European literature is with "pandiacronic" objects of study, such as movements and currents. At the same time, the peculiar "complexity" of his task is such that the relationships between these different currents or processes, on the one hand, and, on the other, between literary history and what I have been calling the other "species" of history, are continuing problems. These problems, as far as I know, are comparable to those which the anthropologist is called upon to confront. The limits of "language"—i.e., what language is *not*—are much clearer than the contours of the social scientist's "culture." Language, consequently, provides us with the better structural model—though at the expense of the inter-systematic considerations that arise when the different levels or parts of complex cultures are being differentiated. Forty years ago, Edward Sapir regarded this as an advantage: "Linguistics would seem to have a very peculiar value for configurative studies"—he wrote, with reference to configurative or *Gestalt* psychology—"because the patterning of language is to a very appreciable extent self-contained and not significantly at the mercy of inter-crossing patterns of a non-linguistic type."¹¹ Today, it is the inter-crossing of patterns that attracts our attention. A culture embraces a plurality of levels or orders (material practices, group values, religion, etc.)

which are roughly the counterparts of the various species of history. Now, there is obviously more than a difference of degree between an investigation of blanket-weaving among the Navahos and a study of their social organization as a totality.

It has been one of the principal tasks of anthropological theory during the last thirty years to refine the terms which make possible a total or "holistic" interpretation of cultures. "Societies," Pierre van den Berghe summed up recently, "must be looked at holistically as systems of interrelated parts."¹³ In order to describe this congruity among the parts of a society, a number of terms have been used. "Values," or "grammars of values," are examples. In their study of *The Navaho* (1947), Clyde Kluckhohn and Dorothea Leighton singled out nine "basic convictions" or "premises"; earlier, Ruth Benedict had studied "psychological sets" and "patterns"; A.-R. Radcliffe-Brown, a "system of sentiments," with regard to the Andaman islanders; Ralph Linton, "universals," "specialties," and "alternatives"; Morris Opler, "themes"; John Gillin, "objectives"; J. A. Barnes, apropos of complex societies, "networks,"¹⁴ etc. Of course, these various terms respond to different criteria and stresses. I shall discuss presently the need to distinguish between "domination models" and "interaction models" with respect to the structural study of history. For the moment, I should reiterate that literary history as a genuine "species" or "genre" of history implies a structural or systematic object of study. The essential choice is between chronological or serial enumeration, based on the principles of construction which the other genres of history have supplied, and a systematic description postulating that the literary scholar is capable of making his own contribution to historical knowledge. This last point

has been forcefully expressed by Louis Hjelmslev:

Toute description scientifique présuppose que l'objet de la description soit concu comme une structure (donc, *analysé* selon une méthode structurale qui permet de reconnaître des rapports entre les parties qui le constituent) ou comme faisant partie d'une structure (donc, *synthétisé* avec d'autres objets avec lesquels il contracte des rapports qui rendent possible d'établir et de reconnaître un objet plus étendu dont ces objets, avec l'objet considéré, sont des parties).¹⁵

In the literary field, I have been saying that the historical view (necessarily comprehensive and constructive) requires a systematic object of study. I have been speaking, like Hjelmslev, of structures and systems, and should clarify my uses of these terms. Doubtless they both denote sets of constituent units in which the interrelations between the units are meaningful. Beyond this, the scope of each term varies, and should remain flexible. Within the context of this essay, that is to say, of the problem of literary *history*, the following distinctions are, I think, advisable. Structures and systems are, to begin with, historical occurrences. Many linguists and anthropologists today would interpret them, probably, as "surface structures" or one-time "manifestations." To recall Aristotle once more: history arranges "particulars" (or sets of particulars), while poetry expresses universals; and in our day, Claude Lévi-Strauss adds: history deals with "contingents," anthropology with universals. With respect to either thinker, literary systems and structures are, to be sure, "contingents" and "particulars."

Let us suppose that the shape of a certain succession of events appears to have been "contingent," and to make very little "sense": it then is the duty of the historian to show an understanding for contingency rather than a nostalgia for sense. This does not mean

that a system does not include "potential" components. A literary structure may very well have been a historical occurrence, and, at the same time, a *theory*—such as a theory of genres. A theory of genres published in 1795 was both one of the events of that year and a potential framework for the creative writer. Historians will study, and view as one of their subjects, the passage from theory to accomplishment, precisely because this passage was a "contingent" development. They may call such a development an "influence," and show at what point the impact of Boileau's theories, or of Schiller's, or of Belinsky's, became generally visible.

Secondly, there is a traditional distinction between "structure" and "system" that we might wish to retain. "Structures" designate especially the interrelations (of mutual and meaningful dependence) between constituent units. "System" denotes either the set which is held together by these relations or the larger configuration which embraces one set after another in historical time. Among social scientists, A.-R. Radcliffe-Brown conceived a structure to be "the set of actually existing relations, at a given moment in time, which link together certain human beings."¹² A system always encloses a structure, but the opposite is not true, as Lein Geschiere points out with regard to language. A single sentence, responding to an individual situation, does not coincide with the broader system or sub-system. In "je l'ai vue hier," *hier* belongs to the sub-system *hier-aujourd'hui-demain*, which is a triad, and the other words to other sub-systems belonging to a larger linguistic system. Geschiere suggests an analogy with the regulation of traffic through red, orange and green lights: as a system, this arrangement is intended to meet certain needs and contingencies, while the exact relations

between the various lights at a given moment constitute the structures.¹³

In the context of literary history, I should repeat that a system is meaningful only when it is known to have *lasted* over a certain period of time, and to have made individual occurrences possible. The system "poetry-prose-poem" was effective in France for several decades after Aloisius Bertrand and Baudelaire; it indicated a passage from a binary structure based on a "conflict model" (poetry versus prose) to the more complex triad, which has often evidenced in the history of poetics a structure (a "reconciliation model") more akin to "culture" than to "nature." (On this point, see my essay "Poetics as System," to be published shortly in *Comparative Literature*.) In cases such as this, the concern of the historian is with the fact that these structures, seemingly elementary or supra-temporal, did actually last or endure for a considerable number of years.

* * *

Let us now pause for an instant and glance back at some of the ground we have covered. In the main, we have observed three of the essential qualities of literary history. Ideally, the object of literary history is: 1. "specific"; 2. "historical" (in the internal sense); 3. "systematic." But the theory and the practice of literary history are, of course, two very different things. The "model" that I have started to delineate is markedly distinct from some of the principal procedures which have been followed in the past. I shall offer some comments on four of these types of literary history.

A common procedure, first of all, consists in presenting one exercise in individual literary criticism *after* another—a succession, that is, of relatively short critical monographs held together by either chronology alone or a combina-

tion of chronology with occasional references to social, political or intellectual history. As history, this is an *ens ab alio*: it seeks a principle of coherence beyond the poetic works themselves, as well as beyond styles, genres, etc. In some cases, an internal evolutionary principle is shown to be operative, even though its tenor may be blurred when more than one form or theme is being studied. Croce once thought that a chronological sequence of critical essays, brought together by the history of non-art, was not *literary* history, and I of course agree—though Croce meant it as a compliment. Basically, the reader is provided with a diachronic collage of critical readings. These readings are projected or superimposed on a film of social and political history. Of the three conditions I have just stressed, this type of history fulfills only the first—that the object be specifically literary; otherwise, its goals are neither intrinsically historical nor systematic; and it thus fails to render forcefully either continuity or change. Moreover, this type of literary history reveals still another failing, which deserves some comment. One notices that the so-called historian of literature often considers the proper object of his study to be a series of *new* works. This is profoundly characteristic of our discipline. (Even the formalist Yuriy Tynyanov, in the most challenging theoretical essay that I know on the problem of literary history, elaborates a serial conception of literature.)¹⁷ The “literary series” which the historian describes becomes a succession of “discoveries” and freshly written works, a tale of modernity in the making and of artistic originality at work. Unfortunately, the itinerary of literature in historical time is a much more complicated affair. As René Wellek firmly states: “we must conceive rather of literature as a whole system of works which is, with the accretion of new ones, con-

stantly changing its relationships, growing as a changing whole” (*Theory of Literature*, p. 255). This is the process of cultural development that a social scientist like Julian H. Steward would call “additive” or “accumulative,” rather than merely “substitutive.”¹⁸

As far as literature is concerned, the historian must always be alert to the interplay between the “already living,” in Eliot’s words, and the new struggling to live—or between the need for each generation to “start anew” (which is not the same as to innovate) and the essential continuity of the written word. Each period, moment, or conjuncture, is marked by the places which are occupied in the more significant contemporary systems by the old together with the recent; and I allude not only to writers but to conventions, genres, theories, etc. The situation of the theater in Madrid in 1960 would have to be portrayed in terms of the new plays that were written and also of the classics that were not produced. The situation of poetry in Paris at the same time would be in terms not only of Char, Ponge and Bonnefoy, but of the Baroque poets who had just been rediscovered and re-edited. (In this connection, the bibliographer and the historian of the *book* have important contributions to make.) The situation of poetry and poetic systems in eighteenth-century Paris could be defined through the status of the *ode* or of the lyric genres in general—as well as of Villon and Du Bellay—in the neo-classical treatises of the day. This notion, I suspect, is most persuasive when one thinks of architecture and the fine arts. There one can speak not of “imaginary” but of real museums, and, especially, of cities. A city such as Paris or Seville represents the most visible and palpable of artistic “systems” or “structures,” in which the various styles of the past are blended and continue to come to life. The first

of the great Baroque cities doubtless was Rome. But Rubens, Velázquez and Poussin did not visit Rome in order to admire exclusively the so-called Mannerist and Baroque artists. In a sense, the idea of literary system, which I have begun to outline, may be regarded as a verbal equivalent of the authentic, living, growing city.¹⁹

Secondly, histories of national literatures come to mind, which could appear to meet all three of the requirements mentioned above. Actually, they do not and for a curious reason: because the extensive object whose career they delineate is a spurious institution. Literary works are rooted in language and experience, not in nations (or races). Literary history and cultural nationalism were both products of the nineteenth century. Consequently, the concept of national literature—as a specifically literary category—became a retroactive illusion which nineteenth-century critics foisted on the writers of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. On some occasions, it has led to determinism, ethnomania, and various reactionary attitudes. On others, it has been a notoriously effective and fruitful concept. Even the Russian formalists used it, for reasons that I ignore, though one notices that they dealt with poets and novelists of a period, the nineteenth century, when national literatures were genuinely operative frames of reference. My point is that this is a notion which should itself be approached *historically*. Its origins are obviously not literary. How—one should wish to ask—did the “myth” of national literature fulfill certain social or political functions? In the hands of a number of governments during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, classroom study of the great national authors was one of the main instruments employed to shape the young citizen in the official image of the community. (This could not quite happen

in the United States, whose national language was not exclusively its own: was this a favorable condition for the development of literary criticism in America?) In what ways, besides, did the “myth” of national literature compensate—in the psychological sense of the term—for injured pride, for the oppression of the individual, for the submission of the intellectual to the state? In Europe, the idea of a national literature first arose in Italy, from the days of F. S. Quadrio and Giacinto Gimma (*Idea della Storia dell'Italia letterata*, 1723) to those of Paolo Emiliani Guidici and Luigi Settembrini. To what extent did this respond to the economic and political decline of the Italian states? Questions such as these would deserve, I think, careful study. The rise of national canons—of systems of authors, generally valued and recommended as authorities—should be fully described and accounted for, in the manner so splendidly outlined by Ernst Robert Curtius.²⁰

In the case of Spain, where such research has scarcely begun, I should propose this working hypothesis: Spanish literature will have been a valid system for approximately two hundred years—between sometime in the eighteenth century and sometime in the twentieth. It is only after 1750, *grosso modo*, that the tendency to liberate poetry from the domination of unitary, unchanging norms (from an “absolute” poetics), and to place it under the tutelage of history, gained wide momentum. Before this, one could encounter, to be sure, much pride in the Spanish poets. It was understood that there were worthy representatives of Spain on Mount Parnassus. But there was, so to speak, only one Parnassus. As the sixteenth century drew to a close, Fernando de Herrera sang the praises of Garcilaso, who had proved not only his mastery of the eclogue but his ability

to rival with the arrogant Italian poets. But Herrera was every inch the humanist—always mindful of the Latin origins of his native Seville. It could not cross his mind that there was such a thing as Spanish *poetry*, or that Garcilaso had cultivated a Spanish *form*, a Spanish *genre*, or a Spanish *style*. These notions, which were in conflict with classical poetics, would arise much later. Their emergence can be studied in connection with the publication of the first national anthologies: from the nine-volume *Parnaso español* by López de Sedano (1768-79) to Quintana's *Tesoro del Parnaso español* (Perpignan, 1817), the other collections published in France by émigrés like Pablo Mendibil and the Abate Marchena (1819, 1820), don Alberto Lista's *Colección de trozos escogidos de los mejores hablistas castellanos* (1821), etc. An interesting aspect of this development was the gradual emancipation of anthologies from the schemes of poetics and especially of rhetoric—i.e., from the display of the kinds of "eloquence" to be imitated by the readers, as in Mendibil's *Biblioteca selecta de Literatura Española, o Modelos de Elocuencia y Poesía* (Bordeaux, 1819)—and, at the same time, the elaboration of historical selections arranged serially and chronologically. Now, as far as the present is concerned, I will risk this comment. Since 1950, approximately, it has been noticeable that the idea of Spanish literature, as an enveloping situation and an operative framework for the writer, has begun to be dislodged by two other categories: by an increasing interest in all literary works written in Spanish, be it in Europe or in America; and by a quickened awareness of the fact that Spain, as a state, is "pluricultural" and encloses at least three *literary* languages, Castilian, Catalan, and Galician. The roots of the Catalan language have proved to be profound. Will Catalan writing continue to flourish in the fu-

ture? Will the die-hard chauvinists and theologians permit what one might view as a belated but auspicious revival of the original pluriculturalism of Spain? I doubt very much that events of this nature can be foreseen or predicted. But on a European scale, the direction of change can be discerned. Personally, I like to visualize the temporal profile of European literature in the shape of an hour-glass: broad and unitary from the Middle Ages to the seventeenth century, slimming down to the idea of literary nationality in the eighteenth and the nineteenth, and broadening out again, in the form of increasingly complex systems, during the nineteenth and particularly the twentieth centuries.

There is little need, thirdly, to comment at length upon the kind of literary history whose purpose is to interpret the itinerary of a single genre (like comedy, or a lyric form, or the historical novel), of a mode (like irony or satire), of a theme, of an aspect of rhetoric or a device of style. By and large, this has been the most satisfactory kind. Within the terms of this paper, its validity from a theoretical standpoint (I am not dealing with success or failure in practice) is due to the fact that it meets not only the first of the conditions I mentioned earlier—literary specificity—but the second as well, the historicity of an object admitting of change. It is the continuity of the object of study, of course, that allows the perception of change. This is a story, as it were, with a growing hero and a developing point of view. In this context, the title of one of the more recent histories is very appropriate: Roy Harvey Pearce's *The Continuity of American Poetry* (1961). The reader is given a clear and powerful principle of construction. But what of our third condition? Is it not implicit in the other two? Do these studies renounce offering an integrated picture of literary history? In some cases, they

do. But in others they do not, and the dividing line cannot be drawn too sharply. The object of study may be regarded as a sign, a model, a heuristic phase of an open-ended process of inquiry. How legitimate is the comparative "perspective"—Pearce wonders as he starts—when we have scarcely begun to ask what American poetry "actually is"? And he adds:

There is yet a larger reason for holding in abeyance such comparatist questions. We have not yet sufficiently realized the degree to which the history of American poetry is a sort of model, an initial if not initiating test-case, for the recent history of all Anglo-European poetry. Almost from the beginning, the American poet's world has been the one we know everywhere around us: where the very role and function of poetry as a valid human act is in question; where the creative sensibility struggles not just to express itself, assured that such expression has a place, some place, in the world, but merely to survive (*The Continuity of American Poetry*, p. 8).

It is society, then, that isolates the poet; and this situation is itself a socio-historical circumstance. But one wonders too: does the critic, in turn, isolate the poet from *other writers*, artists, intellectuals? Theoretically speaking, the problem is the extent to which the critic wishes to recognize that a genre belongs to a structure of genres, and beyond it, to a system of literary options. Though the poetic series may be presented as a dialogue with society at large, the fact remains that we are being provided, as far as literature itself is concerned, with a kind of synecdoche, and that the part may be symbolical of the whole (as we said apropos of Luigi Russo) but not representative of the historical structure—which is basically relational. Other stages in the complex inquiry of the literary historian could be described as the attempt to test and extend the insights derived from the interpretation

of genres and modes, by means of a decisive passage from the literary component to the literary system, and *consequently*, to a further understanding of the relationships of mutual dependence existing between "cultural" systems and social or economic configurations.

Some schools of criticism maintain, fourthly, that the evolution of society, which economic or social history describes, supplies the student of literature with a sufficient principle of construction. The career of literature is viewed as an aspect of the total history of man, and the activity of the poetic imagination, as a response to that history. This monistic approach—curiously enough, like the attitudes of certain formalists and idealists—implies the immediate dissolution of literary history as an intelligible process. It fails to account for any of the particular requirements I singled out earlier. (It does not grant specificity to the itinerary of literature, nor any historical content of its own; and it does not pretend to discover relevant structures beyond the pale of social and economic systems.) Such an approach seems most distant, therefore, from our "model." And yet it presents a real challenge, which, I suspect, one cannot meet without examining certain assumptions and postulates that do not lie within the purview of this discussion. I shall outline, if not elaborate, my own position—i.e., the hypothesis underlying our working model—as briefly as I can.

To be sure, it is absurd to conceive of the history of literature as a kind of separate "current," while social institutions and economic conditions run their own "parallel" but distinct courses. The impact of the latter on the workings of the poetic imagination is constant as well as crucial. On the other hand, it is equally absurd to overlook the extraordinary continuity of literary forms—to assume that every year poetry is

reborn, like Phoenix, from its ashes. (This essential continuity, as I said earlier, is what a history of *new* works only, instead of systems, fails to render impressively enough.) A writer's response to his social experiences and origins, which I do not underestimate, but which I assume implies a contact between intelligible processes, may take the form of the revolutionary use of an inherited medium such as the novel, and thus be simultaneously—Robbe-Grillet is a good example—an answer to fresh social conditions and a link within the internal history of the literary system to which the novel belongs. As Madame de Staël suggested long ago, and Harry Levin has decisively shown for us,²¹ literature is an “institution.” This does not mean that it should be confused with other institutions. The very opposite is intended—and left-wing critics can ill afford to forget that literature has been one of the most formidable, durable and self-perpetuating of all historical institutions. It has been, of course, a central component of European pedagogy for more than two thousand years. Personally, as a child in European schools, I was introduced at an early age to the traditions of Spanish and French literatures, even as I was to other institutions. I did not turn away from the social or the external world, I did not flee “reality,” as I learned poems by heart for the classroom or began to read longer novels—I was being exposed to a singularly well-formed arrangement of experience. I had entered an ancient “city,” an order of signs, as forceful as any other, for it proffered meanings, enthusiasms, values, even privileged moments of happiness and faith. In short: as we study literary history we are confronted with an unceasing interplay between evolving orders and institutions. Consequently, our theoretical problems are comparable to the social scientist's, though with a

special stress on process and historical time.

“Integration,” or “cultural integration,” is a characteristic term which some anthropologists use in order to designate the forces working for order and coherence in a culture otherwise based on a certain structural differentiation. It has the merit of implying the passage of time. Though “pattern,” for example, is a merely structural term, integration has the added meaning of “process behind structure.”²² These are instructive concepts for us, insofar as our task consists, I think, in retaining recent advances in the idea of structure while rewinding, so to speak, the clock of historical time. Our ideal literary historian, like the student of cultures, is a “structural diachronicist.”²³ This being said, the further and arduous question arises of whether structural relations are, as it were, reciprocal; or as I suggested earlier, of whether we have in mind for literary history a “domination model” or an “interaction model.”

Marxist literary critics, for example, who often are structural diachronicists these days, may postulate that all correlations between economic or technological structures and literary structures follow the same direction, and thus manifest a kind of docility on the part of the verbal imagination. This is a pure instance of the domination model. On the other hand, Marxists are also interested in “ideology,” in the disparity between theory and practice, values and behavior, etc. They show that these disparities can be acknowledged, “healed” or contradicted by the artist, so that a process of clarification or even of *liberation* may begin, through the constraints of artistic form.²⁴ As a militant old liberal, Georg Brandes, said a century ago, “a nation has a literature in order that its horizon may be widened and its theories of life confronted with life” (*Main Currents in Nineteenth Century*

Literature, I, 101). I have tried to show elsewhere that the literary imagination is able to contradict history and social fact, to challenge our complacency and force us to recognize the distance separating values from acts.²⁵ For the social scientist or the philosopher, none of this is surprising. The former is familiar with the interplay between the different parts or levels of cultures—ideals and material conditions, challenges and compensations, offsets, antidotes, etc.—, with internal conflicts and incongruities. Though societies exhibit a tendency toward stability and consensus, they “simultaneously generate within themselves the opposites of these.”²⁶ The participation of people in a common cultural system can take the form of fulfilling separate, inimical and yet interlocking functions—such as “the relationship between mathematics, engineering, and mechanical skills that makes a factory possible.”²⁷ In a synthetic article, Fred W. Voget points out that anthropology has passed from a homogeneous concept of culture and of its evolution (functionalism, evolution by interaction among cultures, etc.) to a looser conception of culture as itself being constant interaction. This principle of interaction, he affirms, is now paramount in our sense of reality.²⁸ And Eric R. Wolf agrees with this conclusion in his survey of current anthropological theory:

For the first time in the history of anthropology, as in the development of human thought about man, we stand upon the threshold of a scientifically informed conception of the human career as a universal process. It differs from previous formulations in its understanding that the universal

human process is not unitary, but an articulation of many diverse parts and forces, which are yet interconnected and directional. (*Anthropology*, p. 94).

As far as philosophy is concerned, the question is whether a “total” reality exists with which a “total historiography” may deal. My own assumptions—and general assumptions do underlie theoretical models—are akin to Alfred North Whitehead’s in a passage of *Modes of Thought* which I should like to quote:

Epoch gives way to epoch. If we insist on construing the new epoch in terms of the forms of order in its predecessor we see mere confusion. Also there is no sharp division. There are always forms of order partially dominant, and partially frustrated. Order is never complete; frustration is never complete . . . The essence of life is to be found in the frustrations of established order. The universe refuses the deadening influence of complete conformity. And yet in its refusal, it passes towards novel order as a primary requisite for important experience.

The literary historian, as a “structural diachronicist” whose goal is the itinerary of poetic systems, makes a significant contribution to our understanding of the human process as an “articulation” of diverse parts or forces, and as the unending creation of “order.” Should there exist, beyond this, an ultimate *structura structurarum*, it would seem most fruitful to consider the object of literary change as one of its terms.

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¹ The core of this paper was read at the third meeting of the American Comparative Literature Association, held in Bloomington, Indiana, on April 18-20, 1968. The topic of the panel discussion for

which it was written was “A Literary History of Europe: Approaches and Problems.”

² I refer to the conception of literary periods as a sequence of time sections. Cf. my objections in

"Second Thoughts on Currents and Periods," in *The Disciplines of Criticism: Essays . . . Honoring René Wellek on the Occasion of his Sixty-fifth Birthday*, ed. P. Demetz, T. Greene, and L. Nelson, Jr. (New Haven and London, 1968), pp. 477-509.

⁸ Cf. T. Vianu, "Formation et transformation des termes littéraires," in *La Littérature Comparée en Europe Orientale* (Budapest Conference, October 26-29, 1962), ed. I. Sötér (Budapest, 1963), pp. 59-60.

⁹ Cf. the 1967 "Report on the Project for a History of Literature in European Languages" (mimeographed and circulated to members of the I.C.L.A. before the 5th Congress in Belgrade), pp. 7-10.

¹⁰ Cf. M. Babits, *Az európai irodalom története, 1760-1925* (Budapest, 1934), 2 vols. I have seen the translation *Geschichte der europäischen Literatur* (Zürich, 1949). Babits' aristocratic position is such that he equates European literature with *Weltliteratur*, while he scorns "die orientalisch-exotischen Kulturen" (p. 5).

¹¹ An alternative consists in dealing with literatures "written in European languages." This is a retreat from the historical problem I am discussing, rather than a solution. I do not underestimate the uses of language as a possible unitary principle for the organization of literary studies. In fact, it is a more satisfactory principle than nationality. But a plurality of languages (i.e., a multiplicity of media) makes little sense. It brings us right back to the need for a definition of the adjective "European," and of the spatial and temporal limits of Europe itself, which I mention below.

¹² I accept, and deeply admire, the main trend of Américo Castro's interpretation in *La realidad histórica de España*, 3rd ed. (Mexico, 1962). Castro has gathered the facts to prove his ideas—such as the need to stress the "pluricultural" and profoundly semitic nature of Spanish civilization and history. On the semitic aspects of Cervantes' "discovery" of the novel, cf. particularly "La palabra escrita y el 'Quijote,'" in Castro's *Hacia Cervantes* (Madrid, 1957), pp. 267-299. My point is that though the peculiarity of Spanish civilization is undeniable, its impact on European history is irrefutable too, so that no definitions of European civilization and, especially, of European literature, are at all viable that exclude Spain or fail to take into account the impact of Islamic and Hebrew history on Europe. Perhaps an analogy could be made with the impossibility of drawing absolute frontiers between neighboring languages. Cf. Louis Hjelmslev, "The Content Form of Language as a Social Factor," in *Essais linguistiques* (Copenhagen, 1959), p. 93: "it has long been realized that however widely languages may differ, they may come to resemble each other if there is cultural communication between them. Kristian Sanfeld has shown how the Balkan languages, which are of widely different origin, have drawn very close to each other . . . Cases of this kind are known to linguists as linguistic associations; thus there is a Balkan linguistic association, and a European or more specially a West European association." (The reference is to *Sprachbünde*, as discussed by R. Jakobson and N. Trubetzkoy, cf. Hjelmslev, p. 16, n. 1.)

¹³ Alfred North Whitehead, *An Anthology*, ed. F.S.C. Northrop and Mason W. Gross (New York,

1953), p. 869. Cf. Ivor Leclerc, *Whitehead's Metaphysics* (London-New York, 1958), pp. 63-80.

¹⁴ Cf. Francesco Flora, "Storia letteraria," in "Occasioni e aperture," *Letterature Moderne*, XI (1961), 434: "una storia delle lettere assorbe tutta l'altra storia che, diversa da quella, materia da cui soltanto l'arte potrà formare un contenuto, la cinge per l'ora presente e per la evocata memoria del passato. Non c'è altro storismo."

¹⁵ Cf. "Il Croce e la storia della letteratura," in *La critica letteraria contemporanea*, nuova edizione (Firenze, 1967), p. 157: "ma una Storia, se non nella forma del manuale scolastico, come lavoro strettamente scientifico appare a tutti gli intendimenti una fatica di menti arretrate."

¹⁶ "The Status of Linguistics as a Science," in *Culture, Language and Personality*, ed. David G. Mandelbaum (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1956), p. 74.

¹⁷ "Dialectic and Functionalism: Toward a Theoretical Synthesis," *American Sociological Review*, XXVIII (1963), 696.

¹⁸ Cf. Morris E. Opler, "Some Recently Developed Concepts Relating to Culture," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, IV (1948), 107-122; Robert L. Carneiro, "The Culture Process," in *Essays in the Science of Culture. In Honor of Leslie A. White*, ed. Gertrude E. Dale and R. L. Carneiro (New York, 1960), pp. 145-161; and S. N. Eisenstadt, "Anthropological Studies of Complex Societies," *Current Anthropology*, II (1961), 201-222.

¹⁹ "Pour une sémantique structurale" (1957), in *Essais linguistiques*, p. 101. Hjelmslev's point of departure in this context is the thought of Rudolph Carnap in *Der logische Aufbau der Welt* (1928), cf. p. 32.

²⁰ Meyer Fortes, "Time and Social Structure: An Ashanti Case Study," in *Social Structure. Studies presented to A.-R. Radcliffe-Brown*, ed. M. Fortes (New York, 1963), p. 54. For a social scientist's definition of system, cf. Robert L. Carneiro, "The Culture Process," in *Essays in the Science of Culture*, p. 146: "we may define a system as a set of structurally and functionally related elements articulated into a working whole."

²¹ Cf. Geschiere, "Fonction des structures de la phrase française," in Sem Dresden, Lein Geschiere and Bernard Bray, *La notion de structure* (The Hague, 1961), pp. 12-13.

²² I have read the translation by Tsvetan Todorov, "De l'évolution littéraire" (1927), in *Théorie de la littérature* (Paris, 1965), pp. 120-137.

²³ Cf. Julian H. Steward, "Evolution and Process," in *Anthropology Today*, ed. A. L. Kroeber (Chicago, 1953), p. 314.

²⁴ Literary systems, of course, are not only additive but selective; certain authors and forms will be omitted by each, etc. May this be comparable to what is neglected and left unseen in a city? It is not difficult to imagine what Boileau must have felt, or rather, failed to feel, as he walked in the vicinity of Notre Dame.

²⁵ Cf. *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter* (Bern, 1948), Chapter 14, pp. 267-274; and the section "Französisches und spanisches Literatursystem," in *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur romanischen Philologie* (Bern and München, 1960), pp. 20-22.

²⁶ Cf. Harry Levin, *The Gates of Horn* (New

York, 1963), pp. 16-23. In article form, "Literature as Institution" first appeared in *Accent*, VI (1946), 159-168.

²²Cf. Elizabeth E. Hoyt, "Integration of Culture: a Review of Concepts," *Current Anthropology*, II (1961), 407-426.

²³The term is used by André Martinet, "Structural Linguistics," in *Anthropology Today*, ed. A. L. Kroeber (Chicago, 1953), pp. 574-586.

²⁴Cf. Herbert Marcuse, "Repressive Tolerance," in Robert Paul Wolff, Barrington Moore, Jr., and Marcuse, *A Critique of Pure Tolerance* (Boston, 1965), p. 89: "art stands against history, withstands history which has been the history of oppression, for art subjects reality to laws other than the estab-

lished ones: to the laws of the Form which creates a different reality—negation of the established one even where art depicts the established reality."

²⁵Cf. my article "Individu y ejemplaridad en el Abencerraje," *Collected Studies in Honour of Américo Castro's 80th Year*, ed. M. P. Hornik (Oxford, 1965), pp. 175-197.

²⁶P. L. van den Berghe, *art. cit.*, 697.

²⁷David F. Aberle, "The Influence of Linguistics on Early Culture and Personality Theory," in *Essays in the Science of Culture. In Honor of Leslie A. White*, p. 15.

²⁸Cf. Fred W. Voget, "Man and Culture: An Essay in Changing Anthropological Interpretation," *American Anthropologist*, LXII (1960), 943-965.

Siegfried Mews

FOREIGN LITERATURE IN GERMAN MAGAZINES, 1870-1890

In Germany the late seventies of the nineteenth century and particularly the decade between 1880 and 1890 witnessed the turbulent emergence of a new literary movement—Naturalism. The new movement gained its chief impetus from abroad: Zola contributed his scientific, deterministic, and mechanistic theory as well as the naturalistic novel par excellence, the cycle *Les Rougon-Macquart* (1871-1893). Ibsen's social criticism, implicit in the dramas of his middle period, was considered a main characteristic of Naturalism. Zola, Ibsen, Tolstoi and Dostoevsky—the latter two were then regarded as Naturalists—were the critically decried, pointedly ignored, or enthusiastically received harbingers of new literary developments in Germany. In order to understand the turmoil they caused among critics and readers alike—amply reflected in the periodicals of the time—it seems necessary to recall that the theory and practice of the Naturalists were, in effect, a radical departure from the literary standard of the day. Naturalism violated the hitherto unquestioned creed that literature should represent the Good, the True, and the Beautiful. How severely the moral and aesthetic sensibilities of the older gen-

eration of critics and writers were affected is evident from the following testimony. In one of his frequent vituperative attacks on French Naturalism the influential, conservative critic Rudolf von Gottschall condemned both "das moralische Schmuzwasser . . . [und] das ästhetische Taufwasser, das von der Seine herüberspritzt" (*BfU* [July-Dec., 1880], p. 786).¹

Because of the lack of German Naturalists comparable in stature to a Zola or an Ibsen, the critical attention of both adherents and opponents of Naturalism was focused primarily on foreign representatives who were to provide strong impulses for a new direction of German letters. The significance of Zola's, Ibsen's, Tolstoi's, and Dostoevsky's impact on German literature has been duly recognized by several studies devoted to the respective authors' reception in Germany.² Hardly any scholarly investigations exist, however, which discuss a concurrent, though not entirely novel, phenomenon: the remarkably large body of foreign literary works by lesser known authors available to German readers both in the original and in translation. These works, a far cry indeed from the Naturalists' goals and

accomplishments, continued to exercise their appeal and remained apparently unaffected by the gradual transformation of literature and the concomitant change in the reading public's taste.

The publication of periodicals which offered almost nothing but works by foreign authors is an indication of the widespread interest in non-German letters. Between 1881 and 1894 *Illustrirte Romane. Unterhaltungsblätter für Jedermann* was published, an enterprise which exploited the demand for entertaining literary fare from other countries. *Illustrirte Romane*, however, had been preceded by other magazines specializing in foreign letters, notably *Roman-Magazin des Auslandes* (1867-1880) and the English-language *Hallberger's Illustrated Magazine* (1875-1880). *Roman-Magazin*, issued by the Janke publishing company in Berlin, grandiloquently claimed to offer "eine vollständige Übersicht der hervorragenden modernen Romanliteratur des Auslandes" (*RMdA*, IV, 4 [1872], 717). Actually, the names of the contemporary prose writers, Miss Braddon, Mrs. Wood, Ouida (Mme. de la Ramée), Adolphe Belot, Octave Feret, Emile Gaboriau, Dumas *père*, and Erckmann-Chatrian, attest to the magazine's success in attracting "die neuesten Erscheinungen ausländischer renommirter Romanschriftsteller" (*RMdA*, IV, 4 [1872], 717). To be sure, none of the authors mentioned merits a place of distinction in literary history; yet, their popularity among their contemporaries cannot be debated, as the frequent translations of their works prove. In general, the literary fare of *Roman-Magazin* rarely transcended the level of mere entertainment; more often it approached the trivial and sensational. The readers of the magazine must be sought among the public of the lending libraries, with which the periodical competed. The reasons why *Roman-Magazin* ceased publication are

not known. At any rate, there was sufficient interest in foreign prose narratives, aiming to "delight" the reader, to sustain a periodical oriented completely towards non-German fiction.

The second magazine which may be considered a predecessor of *Illustrirte Romane*, *Hallberger's Illustrated Magazine*, was an audacious venture in the field of periodical publishing, since its launching represented an attempt to create for German and continental readers a family magazine written entirely in English. There were several factors, however, which tended to lessen the risk of publishing a foreign-language magazine. First of all, the publisher, Eduard Hallberger of Stuttgart, had proved himself as a man of sound business acumen. Recognizing the vogue of illustrated family magazines—by far the most popular reading matter in the second half of the nineteenth century—he began publishing two periodicals, *Illustrirte Welt* (1853-1902) and *Über Land und Meer* (1858-1923). Both family magazines were extremely successful and were surpassed in popularity only by *Die Gartenlaube*.³ Second, there was a strong probability that the public would receive an English-language periodical as warmly as it had welcomed *Collection of British and American Authors*, published by Tauchnitz in Leipzig. Third, Hallberger hired as editors the well-known poet, discerning critic of English and American letters, and competent translator, Ferdinand Freiligrath, and, after Freiligrath's death in 1876, the minor American novelist, Blanche Willis Howard. The familiarity of both editors with the literatures of the two most prominent English-speaking countries could not but be beneficial to Hallberger's enterprise.

The efforts of the publisher and his editors were, it seems, fairly successful. *Hallberger's Illustrated Magazine* expanded from fewer than 500 pages in

1875, the first year of its publication, to more than 1,000 pages in 1880, the last year of its publication. A leading literary review emphasized the need for, and the desirability of, an English-language journal in Germany because there had always been "warmer Anteil . . . an Sprache und Literatur unserer britischen Stammvettern" (*Magazin*, LXXXIX [1876], 90), and another reviewer hoped that *Hallberger's Illustrated Magazine* would help dam the flood of English "Sensationsromane" in German translation by offering literary fare which, following the ancient precept of "prodesse et delectare," was both "amüsant und sittlichwirkend" (*Die Gegenwart*, XIV [1878], 223).

Actually, *Hallberger's Illustrated Magazine* sought to provide "light reading for leisure hours"—as indicated on the title-page—for the German "family circle as well as . . . the travelling public" (*HIM* [1876], p. 795).

The unique position of *Hallberger's Illustrated Magazine* as the only English-language periodical on the Continent resulted in a reading public which included, if we are to believe the editorial statements and the frequent letters to the editor from abroad, readers "in Russia, Italy, Austria, Hungary, and France, and even in America" (*HIM* [1879], p. 997). Despite its international reading public, *Hallberger's Illustrated Magazine* catered primarily to Germans who wanted entertainment and instruction in achieving greater competency in, and better familiarity with, the English language and English and American literature. Sociologically, the readers of *Hallberger's magazine* belonged to the educated members of the middle and upper bourgeoisie. The language barrier would have proved an insurmountable obstacle for the socially and educationally underprivileged, even if, in the fashion of the family magazines, the reading matter did not make

great intellectual demands. In fact, the affinity of *Hallberger's Illustrated Magazine* to the family magazines can hardly be overlooked; their moral code was echoed by the publisher and editors, who wished to expose the reading public to "den Geist ächter Sittlichkeit, der der englischen Literatur ihr Gepräge verleiht" (*HIM* [1879], p. 1037). Novels, prose narratives, poems, brief essays, and notes on literary, geographical, scientific, artistic, and other subjects, a "humorous portfolio" which concluded each issue, and above all, abundant illustrations, offered "Unterhaltung und Belehrung in anziehender und belehrender Weise" (*HIM* [1879], p. 1037).

With the major exception of the leading serial in each volume, practically all contributions to *Hallberger's Illustrated Magazine* were extracted from a wide variety of British and American periodicals. The frequent selections from *Belgravia*, a London fiction magazine "appealing primarily to a genteel, middle-class, lady public of low to fair educational standard,"⁴ and from a host of similar British magazines are indicative of the class of reading public *Hallberger's Illustrated Magazine* sought to attract. Extracts from qualitatively better magazines and reviews like *Blackwood's Magazine*, *Cornhill Magazine*, *Macmillan's Magazine*, and *Nineteenth Century* were comparatively few. Among the American magazines—which were less well represented in *Hallberger's periodical* than British journals—were *The Atlantic Monthly*, *Harper's Weekly*, and *Scribner's Monthly*.

Significantly, practically all the authors who were given a more prominent place in *Hallberger's Illustrated Magazine* were not completely unknown in Germany. Since much of the success of the periodical depended on the right choice of the leading serial for each volume, the names of the predominantly British novelists chosen to appear at the

beginning of each issue are revealing with regard to the reading public's literary taste. William Black, although less than heartily welcomed by the critics, but who achieved a modest degree of popularity in Germany, if judged by publication figures;⁵ the enormously popular Miss Braddon, whom many readers considered a brilliant writer of fiction—again in contradistinction to the majority of critics; Amelia B. Edwards and E. Lynn Linton, both of whom were only known to an English-reading public since none of their works appeared independently in translation; and Bertha Thomas, almost entirely unknown in Germany. These authors represented a trickle of the stream which flooded the English book market every year—"ein Strom, der wohl breit, aber durchaus nicht tief ist" (*Magazin*, CXVIII [1890], 464). All in all, these English writers—William Black was the only male author among his female colleagues—provided for the German and continental reader, as well as for his English and American counterpart, pleasant and undemanding entertainment.

Novels were, in the words of Blanche Willis Howard, "the sweets of literature" (*HIM* [1878], p. 140), designed, in general, by females for other delicate females. Occasional fictional lapses in taste could be condoned as long as poetic justice prevailed in the end. Thus Miss Howard replied to a reader, who complained about the unladylike and flirtatious behavior of the heroine in Bertha Thomas' novel *Cressida*, that the depiction of a female character so far removed from the ideal could be justified by the fact that "she was punished for her misdeeds" (*HIM* [1878], p. 764). True, Miss Braddon, to name only one conspicuous example, employed melodramatic and sensational effects in her novels which teemed with members of high society. Conversely, Ouida (Mme. de la Ramée) who, like Miss Braddon,

depicted fashionable society but, in addition, criticized conventional Victorian prudishness, was thought "scarcely adapted [sic] for general family reading" (*HIM* [1878], p. 1), and was represented by only two sketches on Italian life.

The essayist and novelist, James Payn, whose works were frequently published in the Tauchnitz edition, contributed nine prose narratives, which included literary recollections as well as suspenseful stories in the manner of Wilkie Collins; the prolific writer George Manville Fenn was represented more frequently; and the then famous Wilkie Collins, whose mystery stories were considered "ein künstlerischer Abweg" (*BfU* [July-Dec., 1876], p. 533), although they attracted a large number of readers, may be mentioned as further representatives of the type of prose fiction offered in *Hallberger's Illustrated Magazine*. With the exception of Anthony Trollope and, possibly, Wilkie Collins, the only English prose writers published in Hallberger's periodical whose fame outlasted the Victorian era, no major Victorian novelist was to be found in the magazine. The often artistically deficient depictions of English life, especially that of the aristocracy, served as a setting for plots which relied on stark contrasts in the delineation of character rather than on psychological subtleties. This apparently satisfied the hunger for literary entertainment of those German readers who were capable of perusing belles-lettres written in English.

A different fictional world was offered by the American prose writers. Bret Harte, who in 1872 had been introduced to the German reading public by Ferdinand Freiligrath in Paul Lindau's *Die Gegenwart*, conjured up adventurous scenes of life in the West in his novel *Gabriel Conroy*. Thomas Bailey Aldrich, Mark Twain, William Dean Howells, and Charles Dudley Warner all provided

humorous sketches. Various facets of American life were portrayed by Louisa May Alcott, Hjalmar Hjorth Boyesen, and Harriet Beecher Stowe.

The selection of American authors followed conventional lines. Most of the prose writers mentioned enjoyed an established reputation in Europe. Reproduction of their works, therefore, could not help but be beneficial from a financial point of view. As befitting a family magazine, controversial subjects and authors were avoided. Like the Tauchnitz series—accused by some critics of giving preference to insignificant authors and neglecting artists like Henry James and William Dean Howells—*Hallberger's Illustrated Magazine* emphasized the merely entertaining rather than the artistically and intellectually challenging. Thus Henry James' *Daisy Miller* was excluded because it was “too dangerously enigmatic” (*HIM* [1879], p. 239) and possibly damaging to the reputation of American womanhood.

The very few prose extracts from literatures other than English and American were—like the narratives by Daudet and Turgenev—of good quality. With reservations the same can be said of the numerous poems—many of them by anonymous poets—which adorned the pages of *Hallberger's Illustrated Magazine*. Lyrics by one of the favorite foreign poets of the German reading public, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, were published more frequently than those of other poets. Thomas Bailey Aldrich, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Blanche Willis Howard, James Russell Lowell, Edmund Clarence Stedman, Bayard Taylor, Bret Harte, and John Greenleaf Whittier represented a fairly complete panorama of contemporary American poets—Whitman being the major exception. Apart from a number of poems by versifiers which were extracted, for the most part, from George Manville Fenn's anthology *A Book of Fair Women*, *Hallberger's*

Illustrated Magazine published lyrics of universal appeal. Poetic passages from Shakespeare, embroidered by illustrations, and the few poems by Keats, Shelley, Wordsworth, and Tennyson were of more than ephemeral value. The frequently published poems of Julia Goddard, a writer of children's books, corresponded more closely to the majority of poetic contributions, however.

The editors also took cognizance of poets affiliated with the Pre-Raphaelites and Aesthetes by publishing poems by Austin Dobson, John Addington Symonds, and Charles Algernon Swinburne. Again, the family magazine bias asserted itself in the critical pronouncements on these poetic opponents of Victorianism.

In several articles reprinted from the respectable *Cornhill Magazine* and *Macmillan's Magazine*, the Aesthetes' negation of the close interrelationship between art and morals was condemned. One critic summed up his extreme revulsion in this manner,

Very certainly there is more hope for a nation in thorough but loving ignorance of art-loving . . . than in a state of knowledge of which the only result is a sick indifference to the things of our own time, and a spurious devotion to whatever is foreign, eccentric, archaic, or grotesque (*HIM* [1880], p. 864).

William Morris and Austin Dobson, poet of polished and graceful *vers de société*, were judged less harshly in essays devoted to them.

In the literary essays which were, next to prose fiction and poetry, one of the major features of *Hallberger's Illustrated Magazine*, practically all the major figures of nineteenth-century English and American literature were treated. Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, and Sheridan were the only representatives of pre-nineteenth-century literature. In general, the literary essays were not of high quality. They remained

either purely biographical, or sought to convey to the reader the domestic bliss of literary celebrities, or paraphrased the contents of a literary work of art. The frequent selections from John Francis Waller's illustrated *Pictures from English Literature* are indicative of the general tendency in *Hallberger's Illustrated Magazine* to favor the entertaining and easily intelligible and to disregard incisive literary criticism.

There were both essays on non-English writing authors and translations of German and other non-English poems. These articles and lyrics were quantitatively insignificant, however, when compared to the great number of contributions from, and on, English and American writers.

It is difficult to assess the circulation figures of *Hallberger's Illustrated Magazine*. Without doubt, the exclusive use of English in the periodical tended to limit the reading public. Conversely, the unqualified success of the Tauchnitz editions, which offered, for the most part, the same authors, proves that the language barrier was no insurmountable obstacle. Despite the caution with which self-congratulatory editorial statements must be read, one may assume that the repeated reports about the "increased prosperity" (*HIM* [1879], p. 120) of the magazine had some foundation in fact. The constantly growing number of pages and illustrations seems to point towards success rather than failure. Moreover, the longer period of publication of the French pendant of *Hallberger's Illustrated Magazine*, *Le Roman des Familles* (Berlin, 1880-1890), proves that a foreign-language journal could be published over an extended period of time. It seems unlikely, therefore, that financial reasons caused the discontinuation of the English-language magazine. We may assume then that either the death in 1880 of Eduard Hallberger caused his successors to embark on *Illustrirte Romane aller Nationen* or that Hallberger

himself had planned to continue *Hallberger's Illustrated Magazine*, a continuation, however, which would not be limited to the educated, English-reading members of the bourgeois family.

Hallberger's firm, which became a stockholding company after his death and was renamed "Deutsche Verlagsanstalt," began issuing *Illustrirte Romane* in 1881. Some of the basic ingredients—a heavy dose of prose fiction and the reliance on pictorial adornment—were again encountered in this new periodical. The literary fare was based on translations like that of the now defunct *Roman-Magazin*. Significantly, *Illustrirte Romane* was called "Unterhaltungsblätter für Jedermann." Even a less than proficient reader could find his way through the richly illustrated and fundamentally repetitious plots of the prose fiction. The restrictions which the editors of *Hallberger's Illustrated Magazine* had imposed upon themselves by attempting to make the periodical "a welcome guest in the family circles" (*HIM* [1876], p. 795) were eliminated in *Illustrirte Romane*; "Jedermann" was not dependent on the institution of the bourgeois family as the collective arbiter in matters of literary taste. Therefore, a type of prose fiction different from that which was offered in the family magazines prevailed in *Illustrirte Romane*.

The literary entertainment provided by the two most frequently published authors, the French *romanciers* Xavier de Montépin and Emile Richebourg, is indicative of the reading matter to be found in *Illustrirte Romane*. Works by Montépin (1824-1902) had been translated into German as early as the fifties; during the years 1874-1877 his illustrated *Ausgewählte Romane* were issued in sixty-five volumes by Hartleben in Vienna. Further novels were published both in translation and in the original French during the seventies.

The rather impressive number of books by Montépin available in the decade following the Franco-Prussian War suggests that the French author had an established reputation among a certain segment of the German reading public which *Illustrirte Romane* attempted to turn into monetary profit in the eighties by printing "authorized" translations of his novels.

The popularity of the French author was by no means matched by the critical assessments he received. Insofar as serious literary critics deigned to review Montépin at all, his works were condemned in the strongest possible terms. The translation of *Les tragédies de Paris* (Vienna, 1876) was characterized in the reputable *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung* as "aufregend und monoton," as filled with an "ungeheuerliche Häufung von Schandtaten; Verführungen, Mord, Raub, Erpressungen, etc.," and as contemptuously omitting less spectacular crimes like theft "als zu einfach" (*BfU* [Jan.-June, 1877], p. 348). The artistic qualities of this "modernste Sensationsliteratur" were negligible; any discernible structure was missing, and the characters were puppets taken from the "Marionettentheater" (*BfU* [Jan.-June, 1877], p. 348).

The review of *Die rothe Hexe* (Vienna, 1877), another of Montépin's products, is revealing with regard to the class of readers which preferred "Sensationsliteratur" and informative as to the distribution of that type of literature: "Dieser Roman wird in den Leihbibliotheken unzweifelhaft ein gesuchter Artikel und die Wonne aller schauerlustigen Ladenmamsells werden" (*BfU* [July-Dec., 1877], p. 620). What constituted Montépin's serious shortcomings as an artist in the eyes of the critics was counted a blessing as far as *Illustrirte Romane* was concerned. The novel "Die Tochter des Südens" was advertised as "Perle des modernen Sensa-

tionsromans" (*IR*, I [1881], 828, and the mysterious lure of Paris was employed to attract ill-educated readers whose appetite for literary entertainment was continuously whetted by the serialized work of a *romancier* whose "Erfolgskraft, . . . die uns durch tausend sich kreuzende Intriguen, die auf dem abenteuerlichen Boden von Paris spielen und uns kaum zu Athem kommen lassen, unwiderstehlich fesselt" (*IR*, II [1882], 828).

The skillful advertiser who emphasized the elements of adventure, mystery, suspense, and the appeal of the foreign, and who pretended to be as much struck with the breathtaking plot as the prospective reader, was probably thoroughly familiar with the mentality of a reading public which needed the stimuli of gross effects. The very titles of some of Montépin's novels published in *Illustrirte Romance*, "Der Kampf um Millionen," "Rache um Rache," "Das Geheimniß des 'Titan,'" were a promise of plots filled both with suspense and excitement.

Emile Richebourg (1833-1898) was, like Montépin, a representative of the "roman feuilleton." Although his novels had "grand succès à l'époque" (*Grand Larousse encyclopédique*, IX, [Paris, 1964]), he was not as well known as Montépin. It is quite possible that the doubtful merit of having made Richebourg familiar to the German reading public belongs to the Hallberger publishing company, since independent translations do not appear until 1887, some years after Richebourg's first serialized novels had been published in the family magazine *Illustrirte Welt* and *Illustrirte Romane*. Richebourg's works belonged to the genre of "Sensationsliteratur," a fact which was emphatically advertised. Life in the metropolis, Paris, was presented as a glaring contrast of brilliant lights and dark shadows, as a spectacle that

caused both admiration and aversion in the beholder,

[Es] spielt auch diese grossartige Schöpfung [Richebourg's novel "Joramie's Millionen"] auf dem an unheimlichen Schatten und schimmerndem Licht überreichen Boden von Paris, und werden die Leser von der ersten Seite dieser genialen Weltstadterzählung bis zur letzten gefesselt sein und in athemloser Spannung dem wunderbaren Führer in die Irrgänge des Pariser Lebens folgen (*IR*, V [1885], 828).

The stereotyped phrase "athemlose Spannung" clearly points towards one of the chief principles according to which most of the novels in *Illustrierte Romane* were constructed. Most of the other French *romanciers* who contributed from their works to the periodical followed in subject matter and manner of presentation the precedents set by Richebourg and Montépin. From the beginning of the eighties, when the informative articles on French Naturalism began to be published more frequently in German periodicals, to the end of the eighties, when Naturalism in Germany had acquired its first influential organ in *Freie Bühne für modernes Leben*, *Illustrierte Romane* remained aloof from new literary developments. Social problems were nonexistent for the authors of the illustrated magazine; the gap between rich and poor—"der vornehmen Welt einerseits und der Welt adelnder Arbeit andererseits" (*IR*, II [1882], 828)—was bridged by involving both social groups in criminal or mysterious happenings—"im Hause des Bauern wie im Grafenschlosse geht eine ungesühnte Schuld um" (*IR*, III [1883], 828). Needless to say, the world depicted in these prose narratives was largely the product of the authors' imagination, with only a tenuous relationship to actual social conditions. Despite the sensational aspects of most of the prose fiction offered in *Illustrierte Romane*, one basic tenet to which practically all magazines

adhered, the final victory of the virtuous and the good over the powers of evil and crime, was followed. They all professed to be dedicated to the aesthetic doctrine which permitted only the presentation of "Das Gute, Wahre, Schöne" in literature. Even *Illustrierte Romane* pretended not to deviate from the literary norm which determined the literary taste of a large segment of the reading public in the seventies and eighties. In a typical advertisement, the foreign novels to be published were described as follows,

Romane des Auslandes . . . , die bei ausserordentlichem Reiz und den interessantesten Scenen dennoch von so gediegener und edler Haltung sind, dass sie auch tief auf das Gemüt wirken und den Leser, indem sie ihn wie bei unseren bisherigen Romanen in grösste Spannung versetzen, doch dabei höchst wohltuend berühren, und, obgleich die Nachtseiten des Lebens in den handlungsreichen Romanen ihre Berücksichtigung finden müssen, auf der Grundlage der Moral, dem Sieg des Guten, Wahren und Schönen in der Welt, aufgebaut sind (*IR*, VIII [1888], 828).

A truly remarkable program; moral edification was to be had as a reward for the agony of following a suspenseful plot, which, in the final analysis, confirmed the readers' belief in the ultimate victory of the Good, the True, and the Beautiful. Although *Illustrierte Romane* was, without doubt, primarily a commercial enterprise which attempted to capitalize on the relative popularity of "Sensationsliteratur," one should not overlook that, after all, the literary fare offered in *Illustrierte Romane* had, if deprived of its sensational aspects, much more in common with the sentimental prose fiction of family magazines such as *Die Gartenlaube* than with the harshly realistic literature of French Naturalism. Two of the editors of *Illustrierte Romane*, Edmund Zoller (editor until 1885) and Hugo Rosenthal-Bonin (editor from 1886 to 1889) were actually simultaneously affiliated with both the

last-named periodical and the "Familienzeitschrift," *Über Land und Meer*. Even the chief translator of *Illustrierte Romane*, Emil Mario Vacano, who himself indulged in the creation of sensational belles-lettres, preserved a somewhat tenuous association with family magazines by contributing occasionally to them. Yet the inevitable final victory of the Good and the True was hardly sufficient to reconcile the discerning reader and, least of all, the critics to the violently distorted world view and artistic shortcomings of the French *prosateurs* collaborating with *Illustrierte Romane*.

English authors as a group were most frequently represented in *Illustrierte Romane*, although no individual novelist proved to be as successful in this periodical as Richebourg and Montépin. In general, the sensational aspects of the English literary contributions were less obvious, and their proximity to the literary standard fare of the "Familienzeitschriften" was more pronounced. From the viewpoint of contemporary popularity, Miss Braddon's two novels were the most valuable acquisitions of *Illustrierte Romane*. The periodical proudly advertised the fact that it was able to publish works "von der berühmtesten neuern Romanschriftstellerin Englands" (*IR*, VI [1883], 828). The publication figures of Miss Braddon's works are indeed impressive;⁶ and reviews of her works were, quite in contrast to the critics' hostility towards Montépin, rather favorable. Her novel *Zwei Freunde* was recommended to the attention of readers who liked to peruse,

ein Buch, das uns das innerste Wesen des Menschen zu schildern versucht, das vor den Folgen der ungebändigten Leidenschaften warnt, das zu vielen anregenden Gedanken und Betrachtungen über unser eigenes Seelenleben Veranlassung gibt (*BfU* [Jan.-June, 1873], p. 344).

Another of Miss Braddon's works was characterized by the epithets, "pikant,

witzig, geistvoll" (*BfU* [Jan.-June, 1888], p. 138), although hardly any critic was inclined to grant the English authoress a higher status than that of *Unterhaltungsschriftstellerin*. Despite the sensational overtones which pervade her work, Miss Braddon found acceptance by the audience of family magazines, as the publication of her works as well as those of many similar English contributors in *Hallberger's Illustrated Magazine* proves.

None of the other British authors represented in *Illustrierte Romane* could match Miss Braddon's popularity in Germany in the seventies and eighties. On the basis of publication figures we may assume that David Christie Murray, to whom *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung* attributed "bedeutende Begabung" and even "gewisse Ähnlichkeit mit Dickens" (*BfU* [July-Dec., 1881], p. 831), was known and read in Germany to a certain extent. The frequent publications by other British authors, ranging from the known to the obscure, underline the fact that Britain provided a generous share of light entertainment for the German reading public. One may assume that a few well-known writers of fiction were used by the periodical to attract attention; the obscure contributors served to fill the necessary number of pages for each weekly issue. Moreover, it was more economical to acquire the rights for translation from an author with no reputation than from celebrities like Montépin and Miss Braddon. Once a sufficiently large segment of the reading public had accepted *Illustrierte Romane*, this periodical could afford to have lesser producers of sensational novels publish their works too.

Certainly, there was no lack of exciting prose fiction, which counted many women among its producers. Like their better known colleagues, the obscure authors indulged in various kinds of "Ungeheuerlichkeiten, Unwahrschein-

lichkeiten und Übertreibungen der schlimmsten Sorte" (*Magazin*, LXXXVI [1874], 624). Since authoresses preferred to deal with protagonists of their own sex, the tribulations of the heroines were depicted, to a certain extent, within the framework of the family. In a typical advertisement, which makes skillful use of adjectives suggesting strange and gripping happenings, appeals to the lure of foreign lands, promises the customary suspense, and adds the irresistible inducement of a "true" story, the merits of George Greyson's novel *Über Jahr und Tag* are depicted in the following manner,

Hier entrollt sich vor uns ein Familienbild, das England und Sibirien zum Schauplatz hat und ausserordentlich fesselt durch die eigenartigen Verhältnisse, wie auch durch die Personen, welche auf das tiefste unsere Teilnahme erregen, und eine ergreifende Handlung, die in überraschender Weise die merkwürdige Verwicklung, welche völlig auf Wahrheit beruht, löst (*IR*, VIII [1888], 828).

Detective stories, which were occasionally offered by British authors, were the main contribution of the relatively few American prose writers represented in *Illustrierte Romane*. None of them was very well known in Germany, with the possible exception of Julian Hawthorne, translations of whose works began to be published more frequently in the nineties. The detective stories followed the basic pattern of the final victory of the Good, the True, and the Beautiful. The moralistic title of one of the detective stories, "Es kommt doch an die Sonnen," sums up the simple message of many of the prose fiction contributions in *Illustrierte Romane*—crime does not pay. Before this conclusion can be reached, however, the reader has to undergo an emotional turmoil which will only subside after the last page has been read. In the last-mentioned detective story, fratricide, bigamy, and insurance fraud connected

with mass murder are committed before the villain finally commits suicide and justice prevails.

The comparatively few contributions from literatures other than the English, French, and American were, in part, of a somewhat higher quality than the essentially sensational and trivial products from these three literatures. One of the initiators of modern Flemish belles-lettres, Hendrik Conscience, who was well received by serious critics; the Italian Vittorio Bersezio; and the Czech Alois Jirásek, who was extremely popular among his fellow countrymen and contributed "ein herrliches Stück slawischen Humors und köstlichen Kleinstadttreibens" (*IR*, V [1885], 828), should be mentioned here. Apart from the hardly sensational depiction of contemporary or near-contemporary life by the last-mentioned authors, the historical novel was represented by the Russians Salias and Kukolnik, and by Jirásek. The few qualitatively higher ranking literary contributors cannot obliterate the impression, however, that *Illustrierte Romane* offered predominantly substandard literary fare to a reading public of the ill-educated lower classes.

In marked contrast to its both thrilling and sentimental prose fiction, *Illustrierte Romane* published short lyrics which comprised a remarkable body of "Weltliteratur." Even if one can reasonably doubt that the poems had any effect whatsoever in determining the periodical's appeal to its readers, the fact remains that, for whatever reason, there was an abundance of often exquisite lyrics in good translation available for perusal. The term "Albumblätter," used as a synonym for poems, suggests that, despite the emotional upheavals caused by sensational novels, literature in general and poetry in particular were considered to be an embellishment of life which should be treasured in order to lend more beauty to it. These "Album-

blätter" were gathered from the wealth of world literature in German translation; we find poetic renderings of lyrics by the Hungarian Petöfi, the Spaniards Bécquer and Campoamor, the Norwegians Ibsen and Bjørnson, the Americans Longfellow and Stedman, and the Englishmen Thomas Moore and Robert Burns, to mention only the most frequently represented poets. Many of the translators were distinguished members of their profession: among others, Ferdinand Freiligrath, Paul Heyse, Emanuel Geibel, and Friedrich Bodenstedt.

After Edmund Zoller had resigned the editorship in 1885, "Albumblätter" became scarce and, finally, disappeared altogether. They were replaced by the so-called "Mosaik" which offered literary material that was not in such glaring contrast to the standard fare of the periodical as the "Albumblätter" had been. "Mosaik" offered, in the tradition of the "Familienblatt," very brief sketches on sports, foreign lands and customs, on nature and the like, the main attraction of which was their novelty.

In 1890, when Wilhelm Wetter became editor of *Illustrirte Romane*, another minor change took place. "Mosaik" was replaced by "Bunte Blätter," merely a euphemism for jokes. A much more valuable addition was "Gedichte mit Illustrationen," which—in contrast to the exclusively non-German "Albumblätter"—offered lyrics by German poets, many of whom could lay claim to a much higher literary ranking than the novelists of *Illustrirte Romane*. For the first time, insignificant German writers were published in the periodical, and in 1893, one year before its expiration, *Illustrirte Romane* changed its title to *Aus Heimat und Fremde. Illustrirte Romane aller Nationen*, thus acknowledging the growing number of contributions by German authors.

There are no circulation figures avail-

able for *Illustrirte Romane*. Such self-congratulatory statements as "Der grosse Erfolg der *Illustrirten Romane*, deren Leserkreis von Jahr zu Jahr sich mächtig ausbreitete . . ." (*IR*, V [1885], 828) should not be accepted credulously. It seems certain, however, that in the first years of its existence the periodical was indeed successful. The editors repeatedly informed their subscribers that the issues of the second volume of the periodical had been completely sold out, and that only incomplete sets of the remaining first five volumes were available.

Without doubt, *Illustrirte Romane* satisfied a demand for literary entertainment of highly questionable value, primarily drawn from English and French sources. The socially and culturally deprived, for whom *Illustrirte Romane* was mainly intended, could not often afford to buy books, but were in a much better position to acquire the cheap weekly serialized novel that offered them escape into a dream world of violence and fantastic happenings in which, however, Good always triumphed over Evil. The claim that none but true events were depicted served, in the final analysis, to give the illusion of the best of all worlds in which everything depended on the individual's innate goodness, regardless of social conditions.

It is evident that the change of literary taste which came about in the late eighties and early nineties must have affected, to some extent, even the readers depending on the subliterary fare in *Illustrirte Romane*. Newly-founded periodicals, specializing in foreign belles-lettres, took cognizance of the increasing importance of good contemporary "Weltliteratur." The publishers of *Illustrirte Romane* realized that the demands of the reading public had changed and embarked upon a new course by issuing *Aus fremden Zungen* (Stuttgart, 1891-1910), a periodical which printed translations of works by Zola, Daudet, Bour-

get, Loti, Maupassant, Kipling, Wallace, Tolstoi, Gorki, Orzesko, Pontoppidan, and others. For a few years *Illustrirte Romane* could, in the face of such strong competition, continue publication; in 1894 it succumbed, leaving the field of periodical literary entertainment to its

successor, a magazine in which "prodeesse" and "delectare" were more harmoniously balanced than in *Illustrirte Romane*.

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¹ The following abbreviations will be used for references given in the text: *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung*: *BfU*; *Roman-Magazin des Auslandes*: *RMdA*; *Magazin für die Literatur des Auslandes* (also published under slightly different titles): *Magazin*; *Hallberger's Illustrated Magazine*: *HIM*; *Illustrirte Romane*: *IR*.

² Among the studies dealing with the reception of Zola, Ibsen, Tolstoi, and Dostoevsky in Germany, the following should be mentioned: Félix Bertaux, "L' Influence de Zola en Allemagne," *Revue de Littérature Comparée*, IV (1924), 73-91. Winthrop H. Root, *German Criticism of Zola* (New York, 1931). William Henry Eller, *Ibsen in Germany, 1870-1900* (Boston, 1918). Siegfried Fischer, "Die Aufnahme des naturalistischen Theaters in der deutschen Zeitschriftenpresse" (unpubl. diss. Berlin, 1953). [On Ibsen]. Herbert A. Frenzel, "Ibsen's 'Puppenheim' in Deutschland. Die Geschichte einer literarischen Sensation" (unpubl. diss. Berlin, 1942). Fritz Meyen, *Ibsen-Bibliographie. Mit einer Einführung "Ibsen und Deutschland"* von Dr. Werner Möhring, *Nordische Bibliographie*, Reihe 1, Heft 1 (Braunschweig, 1928). Philipp Stein, *Henrik Ibsen. Zur Bühnengeschichte seiner Dichtungen* (Berlin, 1901). Ernst Hauswedell, "Die Kenntnis von Dostojewsky

und seinem Werke im deutschen Naturalismus und der Einfluss seines 'Raskolnikoff' auf die Epoche von 1880-1895" (unpubl. diss. Munich, 1924). Theodorich Kampmann, *Dostojewski in Deutschland* (diss. Münster, 1931). Gerhard Kersten, *Gerhard Hauptmann und Lev Nikolajevič Tolstoj. Studien zur Wirkungsgeschichte in Deutschland 1885-1910*, *Frankfurter Abhandlungen zur Slawistik*, III (Wiesbaden, 1966).

³ The following circulation figures for the year 1880 are supplied by *Magazin für die Literatur des Auslandes*, XCIVII (1880), 218: *Illustrirte Welt*, 107,000; *Über Land und Meer*, 136,000; *Die Gartenlaube*, 350,000.

⁴ Alvar Ellegård, *The Readership of the Periodical Press in Mid-Victorian Britain*, *Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis*, LXIII, 3 (Göteborg, 1957), p. 32.

⁵ According to Kayser, *Vollständiges Bücherlexikon*, 5 of William Black's novels in translation and 24 in the original English were published in Germany during the period from 1871 to 1890.

⁶ During the sixties, seventies, and eighties approximately one hundred volumes were published in translation; in addition, an almost equal number of volumes was printed in the original English. See Kayser, *Vollständiges Bücherlexikon*.

Jack Weiner

RUSSIAN AND SOVIET CRITICISM OF THE SPANISH COMEDIA

Russian criticism of the *comedia* has consistently emphasized its popular qualities, *narodnost'* (national character), hate of despotism, and is a means of determining the intellectual and spiritual climate of Russia at any given time. In Tsarist Russia both the liberals and conservatives found in the *comedia* inspiration and justification for their political, social, and intellectual ideas. In Russia, both Tsarist and Soviet, much criticism of the *comedia* reflected the belief that a work of literature must first and foremost be a document of social protest and progress. Therefore, few Russian writers and critics have been interested in studying Calderón and other Spanish Golden Age playwrights as religious thinkers.

In this essay I shall discuss the *comedia* in Russian criticism only, and not include its influence on Russian writers nor comment on performances of Spanish Golden Age plays on the Russian stage.

Despite the differences in language, customs, ethos, and the great distances which separate Spain from Russia, both nations have had similar national experiences which facilitated the arrival and reception of Spain's classical the-

ater, the *comedia*, in Tsarist Russia. Both nations are on the borders of Europe, a situation which engendered a feeling of psychological estrangement from the main currents of Western development and simultaneously generated an attraction for things European.

Invasions by non-Christian peoples strengthened Christianity in Spain and Russia, giving their religion a unique quality and creating a feeling that both were alone in their struggle against the infidel. Russia and Spain also struggled against Western enemies. In the sixteenth century, Spain resisted the Reformation and closed its doors to Western political and religious ideas. Russia defended its Orthodoxy against Roman Catholicism, and only during the reign of Peter the Great did any serious Westernization take place. In both countries, the Enlightenment came late and was imposed from above, by the élite, on a people that was not receptive to new ideas. This very traditionalistic atmosphere helped to create two of the world's richest oral traditions of music and poetry, prevalent to this day.

Few nations ever had a stronger bond of unity between king and people. In both countries, the king was a father

and hero who rarely failed to aid the people. He was the source of hope, comfort, and protection, against foreign invaders as well as despotic nationals.

The feeling of individual freedom and independence is part of the Spanish and Russian intellectual tradition, but in Europe few peoples have been so devoid of democratic traditions as the rebellious Spaniards and Russians, so that all attempts at true liberalization and relaxation of the State's grip on the people have conspicuously failed.

Russia's sporadic contacts with Spain were, until the eighteenth century, solely commercial and political. During the first quarter of the eighteenth century, Peter the Great (1689-1725) improved diplomatic relations with Spain, and commerce between the two countries became more firmly established. Commercial contacts between Spain and Russia figured largely in Peter's long-range plans for his country's progress. After Peter's death, diplomatic and economic relations between the two countries languished until the reign of Catherine the Great, who, like Peter, hoped to establish economic ties with Spain and her colonies. In Russia the increasing contacts with Spain paralleled the process of Westernization, and a part of this Westernization was the establishment of a theater. The founding of the Russian theater itself, during the reign of Aleksej Mixajlovič (1645-1676), grew out of Russia's increasing contacts with Western culture and her absorption of Western ideas.

* * *

Spanish Golden Age plays first appeared in Russia during the reign of Peter the Great. After passing through translations and adaptations in France and Germany, two Spanish plays were performed on the Russian stage at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and one in 1785. That a work of litera-

ture should pass through two, or even three, languages before becoming known to a people presented seemingly insurmountable obstacles. Notwithstanding, Russia's intellectuals became acquainted with Spain's Golden Age drama in the eighteenth century.

During Catherine's reign (1762-1796) the opinions of Voltaire and the French philosophers were sacrosanct to Russia's intellectuals, who, like their French counterparts, considered Spain a country of ignorance and religious fanaticism. Nikolaj I. Novikov (1744-1818) expressed the opinion of many when he wrote that Spain was a country where the clergy "gorge themselves on the best fruits and mystic celebrations dim the minds of the state."

Russian producers—avid imitators of the French—took a similar deprecating view of the Spanish drama. Other genres of Spanish literature were highly regarded, on the other hand, and were, in fact, much better known to the Russian reader. There was usually but a very brief interval between the appearance of a Spanish work in France and its appearance in Russia. Although the Russians were acquainted with Cervantes' prose fiction, the author of *Don Quixote* was unknown as a dramatist until the nineteenth century.

Despite this tendency to ignore the Spanish theater, Russian neoclassicists occasionally mention Spanish playwrights. Lope de Vega's name appears in Russia for the first time in 1735. Vasilij K. Trediakovskij (1703-1769), in his *Novyy i kratkij sposob k složeniju rossijskix stixov* (*New and Brief Guide for the Construction of Russian Verses*), includes Lope among the foremost poets of Europe. Aleksandr P. Sumarokov (1718-1777), in his *Epistola II* (*Epistle [1747]*) refers to Lope and rhymes his name with Pope: "There is Tasso and Ariosto and Camoens and Lope/Vondel and Günther and the clever Pope."

Sumarokov then remarks, "Lope, a glorious Spanish dramatist, died on August 24, 1635, at the age of 72. He was a knight of Malta and composed three hundred comedies."

In 1792, the Moscow journal *Čtenie dlja vkusa razuma i čuvstvovaniia* (*Reading for Taste, Wit and Feeling*) published a Russian translation of François Arnaud's essay, "Lettre sur le Théâtre Espagnol" which had appeared in *Variétés littéraires* twenty-two years before. Arnaud's essay states the neoclassicist opposition to the Spanish Golden Age theater, and the essay's appearance in this Moscow journal mirrors Russia's attitude toward, and limited knowledge of, the Spanish *comedia*. The Russian editors added a comment which indicates that by the end of the eighteenth century the Russian reader, with his limited knowledge about Spain, had not been very interested in learning about her theater:

We have heard much about Spanish customs and authors, but is much really known about them? We know little about that distant people, except that their pride and laziness have become legendary. But in general we know little about Spanish literature, and therefore hope, especially for the friends of the theater, that our short work will not have been a waste of time.

During the first half of the nineteenth century—the reigns of Alexander I (1801-1825) and Nicholas I (1825-1855)—the tsars were haunted with fears stemming from the Napoleonic War and the Decembrist uprising of 1825. The Polish revolt of 1831 and the revolutions of 1848 served to confirm Nicholas' apprehensions. As a result, censorship, long knit into the fabric of Russian life, became more severe. In 1826 Admiral Aleksandr S. Siškov (1754-1841), Nicholas' arch-conservative Minister of Education, codified the so-called "iron-clad" censorship laws, in which theatrical censorship received particular attention.

By Nicholas' standards, the monarch and religion were to be treated with particular respect. Religion was not to be discussed in plays, no members of the clergy were to be portrayed on the stage; nor were religious images to be used in the theater. Like Philip II of Spain, Nicholas did not care to see the figure of the monarch shown on the stage. From time to time, he did permit foreign sovereigns to be represented if the plays showed them in a favorable light. His own concept of the dignity of the monarch thus prevented many plays from being presented because one of the characters was a Russian or foreign king. Similarly, the censors did not tolerate social criticism of any kind, and they permitted no mention of serfdom on the stage, so that a play that dealt with social unrest or lacked decorum did not receive their stamp of approval.

Stringent controls and a taste for moralizing affected theatrical performances in Russia during the reign of Nicholas I. Thus while Spanish Golden Age drama was becoming known in Russia through books and articles, both the publication and performance of plays were subject to the limitations of tsarist censorship. The religious proscriptions in the censorship laws precluded the production of a great number of Calderón's major works, while censorship against social protest and the violation of authority excluded from the Russian stage such Spanish plays as *La vida es sueño*, *El alcalde de Zalamea*, *Fuenteovejuna*, *El purgatorio de San Patricio*, *El mejor alcalde, el rey*, and many others, which in subsequent years, with the relaxing of censorship, were performed for the Russian public.

The Peninsular War (1808-1814) created a new image of Spain and altered Russia's attitude toward her literature and culture. Locked in combat with Napoleon, the Spain which the men of the Enlightenment had scorned as a

country of ignorance and superstition became a symbol of loyalty and heroic courage. The Russian press published reports of the Peninsular War so that Spain now became the object of sympathy, admiration, and respect. Praise and prayers for the Spanish struggle intermingled as the Russians came to look upon Spain as a nation true to its king, church, and homeland—concepts which Nicholas' Minister of Education, Sergej S. Uvarov (1786-1855), transformed into the rigid tsarist policy of "autocracy, orthodoxy, and nationality."

The Peninsular War drew the attention of Russian intellectuals to Spain. Pétr A. Korsakov (1790-1844), later a censor for the Crown, traveled abroad in his youth and was living in Amsterdam between 1806 and 1809. He recalled that "the admiration which was everywhere aroused by the heroism of the Spaniard, the knight-defenders of the royal prisoner of Bayonne, gave me, a nineteen-year-old enthusiast, a great desire to become acquainted with the language of those Western heroes." In the introduction to his "*Anakreon Ispanii, Don Esteban Manuel de Villegas*" (1840), Korsakov tells us that his interest, once he knew the language, quickly turned to Spain's great authors, and soon he was reading Cervantes, Lope, and Calderón.

Russia's writers and journalists praised Spain lavishly during the Peninsular War and in the decade that followed. They also published studies comparing Spanish and Russian virtues. In articles published in journals they demanded a revaluation of Spain's contribution to world thought. The poet Gavrila R. Deržavin (1743-1816) satirized the French army in Spain. Denis V. Davydov (1781-1839), the poet and partisan leader of the Russian forces against Napoleon, credited Spanish *guerrillero* tactics against the French

with having aided Russia in repulsing Napoleon.

In 1812 *Vestnik Evropy* (*European Herald*) published an article which contrasted Spain's past with her present:

French writers of the eighteenth century had little respect for Spanish letters, because Spain had for a very long time failed to participate in any intellectual development and had fallen into oblivion. Nations from which she had completely cut herself off had long forgotten the monuments to her glory. But now they are asking what Spanish letters are like, how they differ from others, what the Spanish might be proud of, and in what way they merit the respect of other nations.

Russian travelers and diplomats left reports of their stay in Spain. Dmitrij I. Dolgorukov (1797-1867), a member of the Russian Embassy staff in Madrid, became well-versed in Spanish culture. Although he knew no Spanish on arriving, he undertook at once to study the language and soon after wrote his brother Mixail that he was "assiduously learning Spanish and beginning to read Calderón and Lope." Dolgorukov's correspondence from Madrid reflects his great enthusiasm for Spain, his knowledge of the Spanish way of life, and his love for Calderón and Lope, whose works he found to be "remarkably beautiful."

The events in Spain affected still another aspect of Russian thought, that of the intellectual revolutionary, and the Riego rebellion of 1820 gave a new direction to Hispano-Russian relations. In 1812, during Napoleon's occupation of much of Spain, the Cortes of Cádiz proclaimed a constitution which gave greater freedom and civil liberties to the Spanish people. When Ferdinand returned to Spain from his detention in France in 1814, he suspended this constitution, and a period of political repression began. On January 1, 1820, a revolt against Ferdinand erupted. Two of its most important leaders were Rafael de Riego, a colonel, and General Antonio

Quiroga. This uprising, although initially successful, was later suppressed and, though Quiroga escaped with his life by fleeing temporarily from Spain, Riego was captured and hanged on October 16, 1823.

The enlightened and progressive elements among the Russian intellectuals considered the rebellion a struggle against despotism and tyranny and regarded it as analogous to their own struggle. Consequently, both Riego and Quiroga became heroic figures among these progressive Russians.

As a result of the Riego rebellion, the Russian intellectual revolutionary took an even keener interest in Spanish literature. Literature became the vehicle for expressing political beliefs, and the Spain that was forbidden as a topic for political discussion became a topic for literary debate. The development of Russian interest in the Spanish theater from this period onward must be viewed against the background of the nineteenth-century socio-political struggle on the one hand and in the ambiance of German romanticism on the other.

* * *

Russian interest in the Spanish Golden Age theater during the early nineteenth century is related to the ideas of the German romantics, especially the Schlegel brothers, August Wilhelm (1767-1845) and Friedrich (1772-1829). By the 1820's they had reversed the general literary attitude toward Spain's classical theater. Consequently, the nineteenth century, in contrast to the eighteenth, was well disposed toward Spain's great seventeenth-century dramatists.

A. W. Schlegel's writings on the Spanish theater influenced many Russian writers, critics, and university professors. At Moscow University Professor Ivan I. Davydov (1794-1868) gave a series of lectures on the history of the

Spanish theater based on Schlegel's works. Nikolaj A. Polevoj (1796-1846), the playwright and historian, whose liberal journal, *Moskovskij Telegraf* (*Moscow Telegraph*), did much to foster Romanticism in Russia, likened the Spanish theater to that of the Greeks in its immeasurable wealth, and accused the Italians, French, and English of using Spanish works without acknowledging their sources. Orest Somov, the romantic critic, declared: "The Spaniards, it seems, were the founders of romantic taste in dramatic poetry. Lope de Vega, Calderón de la Barca and other poets adhered to neither tradition nor rules."

One of the first Russian writers to follow the German lead in extolling Calderón was Faddej V. Bulgarin (1789-1859). A Pole by birth and a soldier of fortune by temperament, he claimed that he fought in Napoleon's army in Spain and, in 1821, published part of his recollections of the campaign (the veracity of which has been questioned by several important scholars). In the same year he published a work on Spanish literature. Like Professor Ivan Davydov, he was influenced by the Schlegel *Lectures* and praised the German contribution highly:

Since the fall of Spain's national glory and power, that is, since the end of Charles V's reign, learned Europe did not study Spanish literature at all. Nothing more than a few novels and ballads translated into foreign languages proves that it exists. But now at last the Germans have lifted the curtain hiding the beauties of Spanish letters, and by erudite criticism have freshened the withering laurels of Spain's great writers. . . .

Bulgarin admires Calderón's genius and creativity and declares: "One cannot but be amazed at the daring thought and greatness of Calderón in such works as *The Physician of His Honor* [El médico de su honra], *The Revolt of the Alpujarras* [Amar después de la muerte] and *The Constant Prince* [El príncipe

constante]." Speaking as a progressive liberal, however, he could not refrain from adding:

False morality based on blood-thirsty fanaticism . . . distorts Calderón's marvelous compositions. The spirit of the Inquisition is palpable and obviously governs the grandiloquent genius of the poet. Such was the spirit of the times, and Calderón had neither the firmness of soul nor the strength of mind to rise above the prejudices of his times.

Of Lope, Bulgarin held a slightly different view. Following the lead of Schlegel, while praising him as a prodigious writer with an inimitable imagination, he points out that Lope's verse is "sometimes heavy, bombastic, and careless" and that the "fanaticism, inhumanity, and perverted morality which marked the horrible reign of Philip II are everywhere mixed with the poetic beauty of [his] compositions." In Bulgarin's view, Lope's theatrical compositions all lacked an orderly plan and could not serve as models for any type of composition, their principal virtues being the "customs presented in the most vivid colors."

The poet and dramatist Aleksandr S. Puškin (1799-1837) was attracted by the strong element of national identification which characterized German Romanticism. "There is a way of thinking and feeling," he wrote in 1826, "there is a host of customs, beliefs, and habits which belong to a given people. Climate, form of government, religion, give each nation its special appearance and are more or less reflected in the mirror of its poetry." He called this national character *narodnost'*, and detected it especially in Spanish Golden Age literature. In his essay "O narodnoj drame; drame *Marfa Posadnica*" ("On Popular Drama and the Drama, *Martha the Governor*" [Mixail P. Pogodin, 1800-1875]) (1830), Puškin points out that no matter what theme the great dramatic writers choose,

national characteristics appear in their works; thus we have Roman consuls who retain the traits of London aldermen in Shakespeare or of Spanish noblemen in Calderón.

The outstanding literary figure of his day, Puškin had, in fact, an extensive knowledge of Spain, and he knew her theater, which he considered "lyrical, realistic and replete with *narodnost'*." The critic Nikolaj G. Černyševskij (1828-1889) said that it was Puškin's great interest in Russian *narodnost'* in literature which led to his interest in foreign works that embodied this quality, among them those of Calderón. Spain's playwrights occupy a very prominent role in Puškin's views on world literature, and he discusses them at length in several of his critical writings. To Calderón, however, he assigns a place of enviable eminence, shared only by Shakespeare and Racine, "at an inaccessible height, and their works comprise an eternal subject for our study and delight."

While some Russians, influenced by the German Romantics, were attracted by the aesthetic qualities of Calderón's plays, certain members of the revolutionary Decembrist groups discovered in his works a message of social protest which served to further their progressive ideas. Vil'gel'm K. Kjuxel'beker (1797-1846), a Decembrist writer and poet, took a special interest in Calderón. In 1823, apparently using a French translation, he collaborated with the composer Aleksej N. Verstovskij (1797-1862) in writing an opera, *Ljubov' do groba ili grenadskie mavry* (*Love until the Grave, or The Moors of Granada*), based on Calderón's *Amar después de la muerte*. Calderón's play depicts the morisco uprising near Granada in 1568 which was brutally put down the following year by Don Juan de Austria. In his play, Calderón is very sympathetic toward the *moriscos* because Philip

II had deprived them of their rights and liberties, converting them to Catholicism and forcing them to give up their language and customs. The *moriscos* in the Spanish play are brave and have a very high sense of both personal and national honor.

Kjuxel'beker also speaks of Calderón's religiousness and other traits which the Spaniard, in his opinion, shared with the Russian classicist Prince Sergej A. Sirinskij-Sixmatov (1802-1846). In a commentary on the latter's epic poem *Petr Velikij* (*Peter the Great*), Kjuxel'beker states:

In both we encounter the same strict, constant lay wit and devotion to the faith of their forefathers; in both the same knowledge of religion, the sacraments, and ecclesiastical ritual; both souls are nourished by the Bible and the Holy Fathers. Their flowery language bears the same stamp of Eastern luxury, their colors are flaming, their thoughts are refined . . . like the poets of Asia, both love to play with words.

These words evoked a rebuttal from Nikolaj M. Jazykov (1803-1846), the young poet and future Slavophile. In a letter to his brother of September 12, 1825, he writes from Dorpat University:

I am extremely fond of Calderón. But the more I read him the more I am convinced that Kjuxel'beker never read him—saying that Sixmatov has much in common with him. Calderón has a unique and all-embracing imagination. He is concise and profuse simultaneously. Each thought is expressed briefly while he is a sea of thoughts. . . . I do not see any of that devotion to his forefathers' religion that Kjuxel'beker mentions.

Although Calderón occupied an important position among the Russian Romantics, Lope also had his followers, who were concerned because so few scholars were aware of his contribution to world theater. They also liked Lope because he was more interested in everyday life and people, characteristics

which they did not attribute to Calderón's theater.

In 1829 Lope was praised in an article on the Spanish theater which appeared in *Atenej* (*Atheneum*):

With Lope de Vega a great genius appeared who, like Shakespeare, helped establish a national theater. . . . Lope had greater influence on foreign nations; and France, more obligated to him than the others, should repeat with Lord Holland that just praise: without Lope de Vega perhaps the fine creations of Corneille and Molière would not exist and Lope would be considered the greatest dramatist in Europe.

Pavel A. Katenin (1792-1853), a Decembrist who was well acquainted with Spanish literature and had translated Herder's version of the Spanish ballads of the Cid into Russian, expressed his preference for Lope. In his essay "O poezii испанской и португальской" ("On Spanish and Portuguese Poetry"), published in 1830, he protests against the Calderón vogue launched by the German Romantics. Not satisfied with what the critics had to say about Calderón, Katenin decided to read him, but saw little merit in his plays when compared with those of Lope.

The conservatives as well as the revolutionaries approached Spanish themes by way of their interest in German Romanticism, and in the ideas of Schlegel and Herder on the development of individual, racial, and national characteristics. Siškov praised the Spaniards for precisely these traits. Schlegel, too, had written: "If a feeling of religion, loyal heroism, honor, and love be the foundation of romantic poetry, it could not fail to attain its highest development in Spain." Indeed, Uvarov's trinity of autocracy, orthodoxy, and nationalism embodied, in the Russians' opinion, the basic characteristics of Spain as portrayed in the Spanish Golden Age theater. The conservatives could, therefore, quite freely interpret many aspects

of Calderón's work as an embodiment of their own aims.

* * *

Two of the staunchest supporters of official nationalism at this time were Mixail P. Pogodin (1800-1875) and Stepan P. Sevyrëv (1806-1865). These future Slavophiles both taught at Moscow University and jointly founded and edited the conservative journal *Moskovitjanin* (*The Moscovite*) and the pro-German Romantic journal *Moskovskij Vestnik* (*The Moscow Herald* [1827-1830]). They saw the Romantic movement as a model for the development of Russian nationalist consciousness and wanted to adapt the idealistic philosophy and Romantic aesthetics of the Germans to the intellectual needs of Russian society. During the early days of its publication, *Moskovskij Vestnik* announced that Johann Georg Keil's 1827-1830 Leipzig edition of *Las comedias de Don Pedro Calderón de la Barca* in Spanish was appearing and that the first of four volumes had already been received by the editors. This comment accompanied the announcement: "One must recall that in Russia Calderón is known by few, and even then by name only. The editors would like to try to acquaint the Russian reading public with Calderón as soon as possible through the works of Schlegel."

Aleksandr I. Gercen (1812-1870), the well-known Russian intellectual and political thinker, was very much impressed with the Spanish concept of justice. Having read a French translation of Calderón's *El alcalde de Zalamea* a few years before his exile, he noted in his diary on July 9, 1844: "The Spanish peasant is great if in him exists such a concept of justice, an element which is not at all developed in us, either among our peasantry or among any of us. In Russia, one either bears an injury like a slave or avenges it like a mutinous serf."

Ivan S. Turgenev (1818-1883) became interested in Spain and her literature early in his career and maintained this interest throughout most of his life. This was first indicated by his short play entitled *Neostorožnost'* (*Indiscretion*, 1843), which dealt with Spanish customs and was written in the manner of Prosper Merimée's *Théâtre de Clara Gazul* (1825).

During a hunt near St. Petersburg on October 28, 1843, the twenty-five-year-old Turgenev was introduced to Louis Viardot, the noted Hispanist and translator of Cervantes. A few days later he met Viardot's young wife, Paulina García, a leading singer with the Italian Opera of Paris, on tour in Russia. Later, while in Paris, he entered the García-Viardot circle, where new horizons opened for his interest in Spain and her culture. Paulina García-Viardot was the daughter of the famous Spanish tenor Manuel García, whose family had taken up residence in Paris. The Spanish community of Paris and the García-Viardot library greatly enhanced Turgenev's knowledge of Spanish. From among Spain's writers Turgenev showed a marked preference for Calderón and Cervantes. During one of his trips to Paris, Turgenev undertook to learn the Spanish language and wrote to Madame Viardot on October 19, 1847, "J'ai déjà pris un maître d'espagnol: el señor Castelar." In another letter to her on November 26, 1847, he promised that he would speak Spanish exclusively, and the next day he assured her that his Spanish was coming along very well. On December 19, he spoke to her of his fascination for Calderón's *La devoción de la cruz*, which he read in the original Spanish. In this letter Turgenev contrasted Calderón with Shakespeare, "c'est le plus grand poète dramatique catholique qu'il y ait eu, comme Shakespeare, le plus humain, le plus antichrétien."

Within the next few days, Turgenev

had read *La vida es sueño* and parts of *El mágico prodigioso*, which is termed, "the Spanish Faust." On December 25, in another letter to Madame Viardot he says:

Depuis la dernière lettre que je vous ai écrite, j'ai encore lu un drame de Calderón, *La vida es sueño*. C'est une des conceptions dramatiques les plus grandioses que je connaisse. Il y règne une énergie sauvage, un dédain sombre et profonde de la vie, une hardiesse de pensées étonnante, à côté du fanatisme catholique le plus inflexible. Le Sigismond de Calderón (le personnage principal), c'est le Hamlet espagnol, avec toute la différence qu'il y a entre le Midi et le Nord. Hamlet est plus réfléchi, plus subtil, plus philosophique; le caractère de Sigismond est simple, nu et pénétrant comme un épée; l'un n'agit pas à force d'irrésolution, de doute et de réflexions; l'autre agit—car son sang méridional le pousse—mais tout en agissant, il sait bien que la vie n'est qu'un songe.

Je viens de commencer maintenant le "Faust" espagnol, *El Mágico prodigioso*; je suis tout encalderonisé. En lisant ces belles productions, on sent qu'elles ont poussé naturellement sur un sol fertile et vigoureux; leur goût, leur parfum est simple; le graillon littéraire ne s'y fait pas sentir. Le drame en Espagne a été la dernière et la plus belle expression du catholicisme naïf et de la société qu'il avait formée à son image.

* * *

With its defeat in the Crimean War, the Russian nation was more than ever aware of the need for change, for "reform from above," as Alexander II put it; and the second half of the nineteenth century saw basic and rapid changes in the structure of the old Russian state. In the years between 1856 and 1870, there was some easing of conditions in the country's internal and political life.

The intellectual and political group that helped to establish the socio-literary trend during these years were the

raznočincy, or men from the non-noble class who had a university education. Their prime interest was the emancipation of the serfs and the many problems which ensued. This new stratum of society, which influenced all the arts, came into being by the emergence of educated men and women from all classes. From their ranks came many of Russia's scientists, technicians, professionals, artists, and revolutionaries. Holding that art had to serve a social rather than purely aesthetic function, they therefore preferred the literature which Gogol established in his school of naturalism and which the literary critic Belinskij praised so highly.

The existence of the *raznočincy* helped to alter the nature of the theater audience. No longer did the stage belong exclusively to the aristocratic élite which had been content with the romanticism and formal aestheticism of the past. The new social stratum required a literature which best depicted the Russian people's plight and its struggle for political rights and human dignity. The *raznočincy* emerged as a generation in conflict with their parents and consequently refused to accept their socio-economic status quo and concepts they considered sacred and inviolable. The classic example of this struggle in Russian literature is Ivan Turgenev's novel *Fathers and Sons*. These new progressives strove for freedom of action and expression, which they found in the Spanish Golden Age Theater.

With the easing of censorship it was now possible to produce plays in which monarchs not only appeared on the stage but were portrayed with some attempt at historical accuracy. This easing of theatrical censorship freed the theater for the production of such works as Lope's *Fuenteovejuna* and *El mejor alcalde, el rey*; Calderón's *El alcalde de Zalamea*; and the anonymous *La Estrella de Sevilla*, which the Russians, as well

as most Western Hispanists, attributed to Lope.

At this time, the dramatic stage had two important Imperial theaters at its disposal, the Malyj (Little) Theater in Moscow, which was established in 1808, and the Aleksandrijskij Theater in St. Petersburg (1832). The Malyj was away from high society, away from the pressure of foreign noblemen with whom St. Petersburg teemed, and above all, far from the direct influence of the French theater, which had found a second homeland in St. Petersburg. It presented for the first time works by controversial Russian writers such as Griboedov, Gogol', and Ostrovskij, as well as many outstanding European playwrights.

The Malyj group particularly esteemed Alexander N. Baženov, the man responsible for introducing the cycle of Spanish Golden Age plays to Moscow during Alexander II's reign. A lover of the theater from early childhood, Baženov sought to raise the aesthetic and cultural level of the theater. He began by writing reviews of stage performances for Moscow's journals and newspapers, and in 1861 helped to form the Kružok Ljubitelej Dramatičeskogo Iskusstva, "The Amateur Dramatic Art Circle," an organization dedicated essentially to the performance of Western classical plays and the best Russian works. Aleksandr Ostrovskij, the best-known Russian playwright of this period, was a member of the circle, and its troupe produced many of his plays for the first time.

In January of 1864, Baženov founded the theatrical journal *Antrakt*. In it he followed the development of the theater, in Russia as well as the West. Due to the lack of Russian plays of quality and the unlimited possibilities available in Western drama, his interest focused on the Western classical theater, and it was essentially because of this that the plays of Shakespeare, Molière, and Calderón all but broke the hegemony

of French melodrama on the Russian stage. In issue after issue Baženov took contemporary Russian writers to task for the quality of their work and praised such Western writers as Molière and Lope de Vega. In viewing the European theater of his day, he suggested that the only means of saving it from total eclipse was a return to the "eternally beautiful models of her classic theater." For a true understanding of the theater, Baženov advised his readers to "study the great masters: Shakespeare, Schiller, Molière, Goethe, Calderón, and Lope." In 1866 he wrote, "Honey I gather from everyone/ First from the Greeks/ Then from Goethe, Shakespeare . . . and Calderón."

In the years that followed, the Maly Theater continued to maintain its serious and classical repertoire. The didactic role of art continued to be emphasized, as well as its enormous social force and ideological content. But with the passing of Baženov in 1867, there was no one sufficiently interested in the Spanish plays themselves to continue the precedent set by him, until a decade later, when the translator of several Spanish Golden Age plays, Sergej A. Jur'ev (1821-1888), revived this interest.

As a young man, Jur'ev was interested in mathematics and astronomy, but trouble with his eyes led him to abandon science. In addition to his work at Moscow University, he studied abroad, attending lectures on the literature and drama of the West at various universities. For the remainder of his life he devoted himself to literature and dramatic art and counted among his friends such literary giants as Leo Tolstoj, Dostoevskij, and Saltykov-Sčedrin.

Jur'ev founded and edited the Slavophile journal *Russkaja Mysl'* (*Russian Thought*), was the editor of both *Beseda* (*The Visit*) and *Artist*, and served as the chairman of the Obščestvo Ljubitelej Rossijskoj Slovesnosti. (The Society of

Friends of Russian Letters). The group published many literary translations, including those of Spanish plays, and was composed of truly enlightened intellectuals.

Jur'ev regarded the theater as the lecture hall of the people. "We shall speak of the most powerful force acting on the human consciousness," he wrote, "the dramatic stage: the superior creation of poetry which speaks not only to the mind but to the whole spirit." In the Spanish playwrights he found a reflection of his own idealized concept of art. He was attracted by the role of the people, by the mass movements, by the moral and social ideals of Lope, and by the penetrating psychology of Calderón, and resolved to bring them to the Russian stage. Between 1865 and 1877, he translated nearly a score of dramatic works from Shakespeare, Tirso, Calderón, Lope and others, including *La Estrella de Sevilla; El castigo sin venganza; A secreto agravio, secreta venganza; Marta la piadosa*; and *Fuentovejuna*. Of Lope he wrote:

Lope de Vega loved the simple people with an ardent flame and defended their great importance and moral virtue. In powerful artistic images, he revealed their spiritual beauty, inner force, and noble pride. He has many dramas in which the main characters are taken from the peasantry, depicting with unusual force their pride in their way of life, vying with kings in moral virtue while bowing in respect before the royal person. In Lope's historical dramas, we are aware that the master of historical events is the people, that its desire and will, covertly or overtly, control these events, and that in many of these dramas the collective personality has the prime position.

In 1871 Jur'ev's translation of Calderón's *A secreto agravio, secreta venganza* was published. In his introduction, Jur'ev refers to Calderón as:

A powerful and independent thinker, who wrote many dramas in which

there unfolds before the reader a true picture of human life. In these plays he is a penetrating psychologist, a sober thinker who protests class prejudice and many other prejudices which are still with us today, a mighty champion of the rights of man and the inviolability of his person. In this sense, the great Spanish poet belongs to our own time.

Although Jur'ev translated and produced other Spanish Golden Age plays, *Fuentovejuna* best reflected his own concept of the role of the people in a state. He believed that a people should be free and educated, and that using force to correct injustice was justifiable. He was far from agreeing with Leo Tolstoj on the matter of passive resistance. At one of their Saturday evening literary gatherings, Jur'ev, recalling the heroine of *Fuentovejuna*, Laurencia, asked Tolstoj what he would do if someone attempted to rape his daughter. Would he not use force to defend her? Tolstoj replied that he would appeal to the man's conscience, but Jur'ev could in no way agree with Tolstoj's argument. He had certainly not produced *Fuentovejuna* to show that one should appeal to the conscience of a rapist.

A friend and colleague of Jur'ev, Ostrovskij was Russia's most important living playwright. He was greatly interested in the popular element in literature, which Puškin had defined as *narodnost'*. In his youth he traveled extensively through the Volga region, collecting information about the populace with the idea of writing plays. A member of Pogodin's Slavophile group, he shared their ardent love of folkways, their interest in the observation and study of folkloric poetry, custom, and ritual. Ostrovskij was particularly interested in Russia's popular theaters and sought to establish a broader base for public entertainment.

Like his friend Jur'ev, Ostrovskij was widely read in Spanish Golden Age

drama. On July 10, 1885, he suggested to the actor and playwright Mixail P. Sadovskij that he consult Lope's *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo* for techniques of suspense and intrigue in the actor's new play *Duša-Potëmki*. His artistic aim was to create a truly Russian theater, as he felt the Spanish Golden Age dramatists had created for Spain; for he was convinced that "the only plays which have survived the centuries are those which were truly national to their own homeland." And this he succeeded in doing. "In the world tradition of the theater," the Soviet critic Danilov writes, "the dramatic expression most akin to Ostrovskij was the theater of Lope de Vega."

Ostrovskij translated all of Cervantes' *Entremeses*, four of which appeared in print during his lifetime, published by Peter I. Vejnberg in his *Izjaščnaja Literatura* (*Journal of Fine Literature*). The correspondence between the two men leading up to the publication of the *Entremeses* illustrates something of the interest of the Russian intellectual in foreign classics. In 1883, Vejnberg wrote to Ostrovskij, pleading for "at least one scene from Cervantes." Vejnberg published *El juez de los divorcios* in 1883, and *La guarda cuidadosa* in 1884, and wrote again to Ostrovskij, asking for a third translation and reminding him that "the subscribers insistently request Cervantes." *El retablo de las maravillas*, also published by Vejnberg in 1884, was the last *entremés* published, though the playwright translated them all before his death in 1886. The remainder were published posthumously in the year of his death. Vejnberg wrote to Ostrovskij, expressing his hope that all the *Entremeses* would be published. In a letter to him, the playwright explained the delay: "All is now ready, but I am conscientious and afraid to appear before the public until I am certain of two things: that my translation

is completely faithful to the original work, and that all the words and phrases in the Russian language selected by me to express all Cervantes' shades of meaning leave nothing to be desired."

* * *

In Russian literature the period from 1886 to 1917 is one of transition between the ages of realism and symbolism; and although the Spanish plays performed during this time were relatively unexciting comedies of manners, through them the Russian symbolists became interested in Tirso de Molina's *El burlador de Sevilla* and Calderón's more serious religious dramas.

Two currents in literary thought emerged during this period. Nonacademic or subjective criticism was written by Symbolists such as Dmitrij S. Merežkovskij (1865-1941) and Konstantin D. Bal'mont (1867-1943); while original scholarship on the Spanish classical theater in Russia first appeared in the writings of the learned jurist Maksim M. Kovalevskij (1851-1916) and the Hispanist Dmitrij K. Petrov (1872-1925).

Conditions in the country at large, and uninspired leadership in the theater after the death of such men as Jur'ev and Ostrovskij, brought about a general decline in the artistic and intellectual quality of theatrical performances in Russia. At a time when serious Russian scholarship was making steady progress in virtually all fields, when an experimental avant-garde was beginning to focus on symbolic meaning in imaginative literature, the classical repertoire was giving way to farce, light melodrama, and comedies of manners.

The first original study of Lope's drama was written in 1889 by Maksim Kovalevskij, an outstanding jurist and professor of law, who, in 1886 had published a study on Russian slaves in medieval Spain. In preparation for this work he had examined documents in

Gerona, Barcelona, Palma de Mallorca, and Valencia. In 1889, as a memorial to his late friend, Sergej Jur'ev, Kovalevskij wrote an essay entitled "Narod v drame Lope de Vegy, *Ovečij Istočnik*," ("The people in Lope de Vega's Drama, *Fuenteovejuna*"). He analyzes this play with a legalist's mind, observing that Lope's technique lays before the audience an accurate portrait of the political and social structure of Spain in the late fifteenth century. In a relatively brief but well-documented history of Spain, Kovalevskij points out that various articles of the Spanish legal code had, by the end of the fifteenth century, prohibited the free movement of the peasantry, a former liberty they had enjoyed before the feudal system curtailed their freedom of movement and of land use. With feudalism firmly established, the Spanish peasantry were no longer able to leave the land to which they were attached. And as the country moved from a feudal structure to absolutism, the sufferings of the peasantry, in Kovalevskij's argument, were the direct result of dissension and factionalism among the ruling classes and the military orders. On the basis of this argument, Kovalevskij analyzes Lope's *Fuenteovejuna*, citing many passages to support his thesis.

Kovalevskij concluded that only when a people is faced with the certain knowledge that it has no other recourse against repression does the idea of rebellion take root in its mind. In showing the increasing awareness of Lope's people, faced with such a knowledge, Kovalevskij points to the genius of the playwright in having endowed his characters with great dignity and a sense of honor, a characteristic of Spanish drama which had so impressed Gercen and Jur'ev. Kovalevskij's documentation provides an interesting insight into the wide range of Spanish material available to the Russian scholar of his day, apart from

the fact that his work is the first original study of Lope as a social historian. A few years later this same theme was considerably enlarged upon by the Hispanist Dmitrij K. Petrov, a professor of philology at St. Petersburg University, who was the first Russian to write a doctoral thesis on the Spanish theater.

As a student, Petrov was encouraged in his choice by the comparatist Aleksandr Veselovskij, who helped him obtain a travel grant to study abroad. Petrov studied Spanish literature in France, under Morel-Fatio and Gaston Paris, and under Menéndez Pelayo in Spain. While still a graduate student, Petrov translated and wrote important commentaries on several of Calderón's works. For his master's thesis he chose to examine the theater of Lope, setting forth the premise that his theater of manners was a true reflection of his time. He regarded it as important not only for its moral and aesthetic qualities, but for its social reflections as well.

Published in 1902, and entitled *Očerki bytovogo teatra Lope de Vegy* (*Studies on Lope de Vega's Comedies of Manners*), his thesis examines scores of plays written during the first two decades of the seventeenth century and dealing with Lope's Spain. Petrov divided his work into three sections: "The Family in the Love Comedies of Lope de Vega," "Dramas of Honor," and "Virtuous Women." He examines these aspects of Lope's plays for their sociological content, comparing and correlating them with numerous other sources, mainly memoirs of Spaniards and foreign travelers during Lope's time. These documents further confirmed Petrov's opinion on how closely Lope's plays reflected the realities of his own social structure. He concluded that they could, in fact, be regarded as social chronicles.

Beginning with an analysis of the family structure, Petrov studied the in-

ferior position of the Spanish woman, constantly subjected to the watchful eye of her male relatives. He sees honor as the driving force of Lope's comedies of manners, a concept directly related to the matter of chastity in the maiden and fidelity in the wife. Until a girl is married, her father, brother, or other kinsman is charged with the responsibility of guarding her chastity, a responsibility which passes on to her husband thereafter. Petrov also notes the blood-letting involved when a woman has been dishonored in any way that violates her sexual purity: the spilling of her blood to satisfy the outward forms demanded by the Spanish seventeenth-century honor code. In particular, he examined this aspect of Spanish reality as reflected in *Los milagros del desprecio* and *El maestro de danzar*.

The question of the husband as a many-eyed Argus is taken up in the next section when Petrov examines the honor theme in husband-wife relationships in Lope's plays. Citing, among others, *La vitoria de la honra* and *El sufrimiento del honor*, Petrov concludes that the Spaniard was by no means surprised to see a man kill his wife, on the stage or off, if he merely suspected her of infidelity. Dedicating his closing remarks to plays about the virtuous women of Spain, Petrov points out that Lope sought to show that there were indeed virtuous wives, and that they remained so despite long absences of their husbands and repeated efforts by other men to seduce them. Lope also depicts women who were virtuous despite their husbands' faithlessness, and women who chose to marry poor but good men instead of rich and evil suitors. Among the plays studied for this aspect of Lope's theater, Petrov points in particular to *La bella mal maridada*, *Los hidalgos de la aldea*, and *La viuda, casada y doncella*.

Petrov's essay is a carefully docu-

mented work and ranks among the most erudite studies ever done on the Spanish Golden Age theater. It was one of the first works, as the American Hispanist George Irving Dale has suggested, to study the honor code in Lope and its relation to Spanish life.

In 1907 Petrov published his doctoral dissertation, entitled "Zametki po staroj ispanskoj komedii" ("Comments on the Spanish Classical Comedy"). The dissertation consists of the text of the previously unpublished Lope play, *Lo que pasa en una tarde*, from the manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, and Petrov's analysis as well as critical commentaries on this and other works. This dissertation reveals a knowledge of Spain and her culture which few scholars of his age possessed, as he deals with the multiple and complex components of Spanish life as seen in this play. Spain's holidays, the amusements indulged in by her people, the position of the *hidalgo* in society, and the important role of Seville and Madrid in her cultural and historical development are also assessed with remarkable acuity. Two chapters of the dissertation are devoted to a thoroughly documented history of the Golden Age theater, from the early sixteenth century until the death of Lope.

Elaborating on Lope's own life and love affairs, as he felt them to be mirrored in his dramatic works, and analyzing his technique as a playwright, Petrov arrives at certain broad conclusions concerning Lope's art. For him, Lope's plays constituted his *Ars Amandi*; he considered his heroes to be passionate and jealous, his heroines haughty and disdainful, and found that his ability to portray women far excelled his ability to depict men, his heroines being far more dynamic and viable than his heroes. Petrov concluded that Lope was, in fact, the world's greatest portrayer of women. He re-

garded love as the most powerful force in Lope's work and pointed to the playwright's masterful understanding of all the shades of emotion that may be experienced in love, ranging from jealous rages to complete indifference, from tenderness to disdain. He concluded that the most salient feature of love in Lope is that his lovers usually consummate their love physically in marriage, and not before.

Petrov's contribution to Spanish scholarship in Russia was a great one. He brought to his work that dispassionate judgment and critical analysis which are the hallmarks of the careful scholar. He also was a man caught up in the personal joys and intellectual fascination of teaching and research; his thoroughness and enthusiasm in both became legendary in Russia. Petrov's love for the Spanish theater was communicated to his students; and one of them, a poet, Vladimir Pjast, subsequently became the translator of many Spanish plays.

Another current in literary thought in Russia at this time derived from the Symbolist movement in literature. In the closing years of the nineteenth century, caught up to some extent in the personal malaise which accompanied the Russian intellectual of the times and the social malaise which the times surely justified, a number of Russian writers sought escape in the literature of the Western Symbolists, especially from France.

Many of the Symbolists relied on "art for art's sake," and the movement flourished at a period when Russian civic instincts had been stifled by government repression. Aestheticism was substituting beauty for duty, and individualism emancipated man from all social obligations. Many of the Russian Symbolists were men of the highest intellectual level, very much influenced by writers such as Dostoevskij, Nietzsche, and

Vladimir Solov'ëv (1853-1900). The Symbolist movement in Russia produced a renaissance of poetry second only to the age of Puškin, and a period of prodigious research into the plastic arts, the theater, music, and the ballet. In much the same manner as the Spanish mystics had grown in number and intensity as a reaction against early Protestantism, many Russians reacted against the positivism of the age in a vigorous renewal of religious affirmation.

Calderón had a message for these men. His view of earthly existence in *La vida es sueño*, or the portrayal of the self-willed individual who subjugated himself only to God in *La devoción de la cruz*, were views that the Russian Symbolists readily accepted. These same ideas were expressed by A. L. Volynskij (1865-1926), who wrote under the name of Akim Flekser. In 1896 he published an article entitled "Religija i sovremennaja literatura" ("Religion and Contemporary Literature") in which he said:

Religion brings into our view a mysterious law, inexplicable by any instrument of human knowledge. No discovery of science, no idea of any kind casts light on the mystery of human existence. Our life is a dream which only death will awaken. Individualism, in essence, consists of the destruction of the terrestrial and the subjugation of the individual to a divine force, from which individuality comes, and to which it returns.

The extremities of individualism, as exemplified by Eusebio in *La devoción de la cruz*, or Tirso's Don Juan, amount to what Flekser called "demonism." In his view, demonism freed the human mind from its restraints and aroused the desire to declare war on the world's basic virtues. Conversely, he believed that no matter to what lengths a man might carry individualism in his attempt to impose his own will, he must eventually submit himself to God's will.

These tenets of Symbolism were basic to the thought of Dmitrij Merežkovskij,

who was strongly drawn to the religious aspects of life. In his youth, Merežkovskij had found in Calderón, Cervantes, and the Spanish mystic poets a literary expression for his philosophic and religious convictions. He believed that man is helpless in the presence of God, and that although as an individualist he can assault the basic laws of society, freedom as embodied in such lawlessness can ultimately find happiness only in communion with God.

Between 1886 and 1887, Merežkovskij wrote a play in which he employed the basic theme of Calderón's *La vida es sueño*. Zinaida Gippius, the poetess, relates that before her marriage to Merežkovskij he was writing "a long poem from Spanish life called *Silvio, ili vozvraščenie k prirode* (*Silvio, or The Return to Nature*), based on Calderón's *La vida es sueño*."

In 1891 Merežkovskij published an essay entitled "Kal'deron v svoi drame, *Poklonenie krestu*" ("Calderón in His Drama, *La devoción de la cruz*"), which consists of three parts: Calderón as a mirror of the Spanish people, the plot summary of the play, and a discussion of the symbols in *La devoción de la cruz*. This essay emphasizes one of Symbolism's most important aspects, the adoration of the self-willed man and his power and desire to impose his will upon others.

In the first part of his essay, Merežkovskij describes Calderón as Spain's most representative dramatist and an individual who did not resemble the rationalistic man of nineteenth-century Europe. What most characterizes Calderón's heroes is their strong will and passion, traits which Merežkovskij also saw in a portrait of Calderón attached to one of Calderón's earliest editions. In Merežkovskij's opinion, Calderón had the bravery and strong will of a warrior, the meditation of a poet, and the abstinence of a monk. Part three is the heart of

the essay. In it Merežkovskij defends Calderón against an attack by the German philosopher Moritz Carriere, who had said that Calderón's intention was to show that even the most horrible crime should be pardoned in the eyes of God if the criminal truly loved God. The German had objected to Eusebio's salvation despite his crimes.

Answering this criticism, Merežkovskij stated that Calderón's play is not based on a fetish for the cross, but rather on the essence of Christianity, i.e., that faith in God means a love for God and that, therefore, without faith there can be no love for God. It is this power of love for God which saves Eusebio and Julia. Since they are of a dual nature (good and evil), they are typical of man in general. They are torn between sin and virtue, and between complete liberty and complete submission. They cannot be saved through their nature, which is partly evil, but only through their will. Eusebio and Julia are saved only through their love for God, who is represented symbolically by the cross; their love for God is far greater than their sins. Merežkovskij believes that man must love God first and above all other things. Only then comes man's love for man.

Merežkovskij asked his contemporaries to cast aside their prejudices against things Catholic and to appreciate those works of art which Catholicism inspired. His essay is a call for intellectuals to reevaluate Calderón, to try to understand and appreciate him as a literary giant and a man representative of his native culture and time.

Konstantin D. Bal'mont (1867-1943), the critic, poet, and translator, was also interested in Spain's classical theater and supplemented this interest with trips to the Iberian peninsula early in his career. His first undertaking relating to the Spanish theater was the publication in 1900 and 1912 of a three-

volume edition of several Calderón plays with essays and notes:

I chose for the first translation *El purgatorio de San Patricio* not only because this drama immediately gives an image of Calderón's literary style, but because of its motif of repentance which links Russian and Spanish literature. As strange as it may seem, Dostoevskij and Leo Tolstoj are the northern brothers of Tirso, the author of *El condenado por desconfiado*, and of Calderón, the author of *El purgatorio de San Patricio* and *La devoción de la cruz*. No one has ever used the psychological theme of repentance like the Russian and the Spaniard. Only, with the Spaniard the approach is limited to Roman Catholicism, while in the Russian it is universal.

In the extensive introduction to *El purgatorio de San Patricio* (iii-cxiii), using Western sources, Bal'mont presents a well-documented essay on Calderón, Cervantes, and Lope. Like the romantics, he considered Lope inferior to Calderón, and in his analysis of *El médico de su honra* he traces parallels between Don Guitierre and Othello. Like many students of the *comedia*, Bal'mont considered *La vida es sueño* Calderón's unsurpassed masterpiece and states:

In this philosophical drama, which, like a mirror, focuses all of light's rays, we see the complete symbolization of all that is earthly. The hero, the Polish prince Segismundo, is the artistic symbol of the human being with all his passions and spiritual contradictions. The only consolation for man's woes is embodied in the play's title.

In 1904 Bal'mont published a book of essays entitled *Gornye Veršiny* (*Mountain Tops*), which included essays on the Spanish Golden Age theater, Francisco Goya, and translations of Spanish folk songs based on Rodríguez Marín's *Cantos populares españoles*. These essays were originally delivered as lectures at Oxford, The Moscow Historical Museum, and The Free Russian University in Paris. In the first essay on the *comedia*,

"Čuvstvo ličnosti v poezi" ("The Presence of the Personality in Poetry"), Bal'mont raises several questions: Is it better to be the object of someone's will or to be the projector of that will? Is it better to be the vanquisher or the vanquished? Is it better to be the master or the slave? Is it better to have one's freedom held in check or to be absolutely free? Bal'mont revered those men "who rule their own destinies, and are not afraid to take destiny by the throat, for they are their own rulers."

In the second of these essays, "Tip Don Xuana v mirovoj literaturē" ("Don Juan in World Literature"), Bal'mont states that Don Juan has captured the imagination of more writers than any other literary character because of his indomitable will to achieve his amorous aims. Tirso's Don Juan "will stop at nothing to achieve his aim." In his opinion Don Juan "defies the elements and has no fear of Judgment Day." Thus it is Don Juan's demonic individualism and fearlessness which drew the Russian Symbolists to Tirso's masterpiece.

Between 1910 and 1917 two anti-Stanislavskij Russian innovators of the symbolist theater who produced several Spanish Golden Age plays, Vsevolod D. Mejerxol'd and Nikolaj N. Evreinov, made illuminating commentaries on the *comedia*. In his quest for symbolism on the stage, Mejerxol'd turned to folk and religious drama as well as to the theater of convention, i.e., the symbolized use of props and scenery. One of the national theaters in which Mejerxol'd found these elements was the *comedia*.

The nature of the Spanish Golden Age repertoire also interested Mejerxol'd. One of his few comments on this matter appeared in a letter, dated July, 1911, to the English specialist on the Russian theater, George Calderon. Mejerxol'd speaks of the Spanish theater as con-

taining a feeling of national force, a religious undercurrent, and, oddly enough, an inspiration to free the individual from Medieval scholasticism. Concerning its dramatic forms, he points out the quickly developed action concentrated on the plot, and "in addition the Spanish Theater is not afraid to break the harmony of the highest level of tragic pathos by introducing the comic grotesque which reaches a clear and unique caricature."

In preparation for performances of Spanish Golden Age plays by the Starinnyj Teatr (The Old Theater) [1911-1912], Evreinov and two other of the group's directors, Nikolaj V. Drizen and M. K. Miklaševskij, presented scholarly papers on the *comedia* to the actors. These papers were to help them have an authentic conception of Spain's classical drama and were published in a booklet entitled *Ispanskij Teatr, XVI-XVII (The Spanish Theater in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries)*.

On September 15, 1911, Drizen explained the group's aims to the participants. He said that if old art had been distorted by the playing of harpsichord compositions on a concert grand, and the retouching and modernizing of old canvases and frescoes, the art of performing old plays had suffered the same fate. Even if the texts themselves had not been altered, the original techniques of performing them had been lost. Consequently the ideal rebirth of the classic stage was possible only if its original techniques were also revived with the aid of scholarly research into the theater's past.

Drizen stated that the Spanish theater, along with the Greek theater and Shakespeare's, was one of the world's great theaters. In his opinion it was characterized by ecstatic religiousness, unusual force of national ideals, a special concept of honor, great mirth, and the Spaniard's love of dance and music. In

addition, the Spanish Golden Age Theater appealed to all levels of seventeenth-century Spanish society.

Miklaševskij discussed the different stages in use during Lope de Vega's time: the *corral* or municipal stage, the Royal theater in the Buen Retiro, the stage used by itinerant actors, as well as a three-tiered stage used for *Autos Sacramentales*.

Evreinov, in his talk, attempted to answer questions dealing with the Spanish Golden Age actor. He wanted to know what demands were made on that actor by the public and by the playwright, and which actors were able to ignore the audience's whims and tastes. Evreinov studied the actor's life and the level of development the Spanish Golden Age theater had reached in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He had the personal assistance of D. K. Petrov, and his scholarly sources included works by Hugo Rennert and the memoirs of Spanish seventeenth-century theater-goers as well as Agustín de Rojas' *El viaje entretenido*.

Evreinov was interested in the *comedia* because of *teatral'nost'* ("theatricality") which he defined as a theatrical instinct inherent in all living creatures, savage or civilized, which brings the theater into daily life. It is a means by which man or an audience can transform themselves into whatever or whomever they may want to be. *Teatral'nost'* applies as well to the actor who would really like to be the character he is portraying on the stage.

Because of *teatral'nost'*, both man and animal live a life of spontaneous and daily theater. The cat and mouse act out a little play before the former devours the latter. Children use their theatrical imagination in playing games. Savage man wears the skins of animals and the feathers of birds in his theatrically religious rituals because he

wants to acquire the traits of these creatures. Evreinov concluded that each period in history had its own theatrical characteristics which allowed man to participate in and experience vicariously the spectacle before him. Seventeenth-century Spain was one such period:

She set at that epoch an exceptionally high example of historic stage management: Inquisition-tribunal with masked judges and hellish stage-craft of torture, huge autos-da-fé, where executioner and martyr rivalled each other in the strict adherence to their parts, the brilliance of sinister costumes—all was harmonized and stylized. There was the duelling ritual which enabled masters of fencing to glory in the part of gallant gentlemen who, even dying from wounds, never failed to drop some complimentary remark about their beloved ones. The vulgar butchery was then transformed into the refined spectacle of the bull-fight, and the affected speech of Góngora with its tempting unnaturalness supplanted the natural idiom of the nation.

Add to this endless and purely operatic processions of various kinds, religious, royal, military, criminal ("walking" the criminals through the streets), wedding and carnival (the processions of Tarask [sic]). The theatrical "filling" penetrated into every part of the "pie of life" baked by the ecclesiastics with thin, acrid oil, and it became impossible to distinguish the "filling" from the "crust," the religious form of a ceremony from its theatrical contents. The best actors gave up the stage and entered the monasteries, while the most ascetic monks left their cells and entered the actors' guilds. The greatest playwrights of the seventeenth century were the monks Lope de Vega, Carpio [sic] and Calderón, while the most sainted nun (at whose death, legend has it, the church-bells began of themselves to toll her passing) was the actress Baltasara. Is it possible that renunciation of the world by a monk is also dictated to him by the instinct of transformation, which is nothing but theatricality in disguise? The history of the ultra-theatrical Spain furnished sufficient ground for such an assumption.

Following in both Petrov's and Merežkovskij's footsteps was Sergej M. Botkin, who died in 1918 at the age of 30. He was the nephew of V. P. Botkin, a friend of Turgenev and author of a very important series of essays on nineteenth-century Spanish political life entitled *Pis'ma ob Ispanii (Letters About Spain)* [1847-1849].

Like his teacher Petrov, Sergej Botkin studied with Morel Fatio and Menéndez y Pelayo after finishing his studies at St. Petersburg University in 1911. From Petrov he acquired training in research techniques, while he followed Merežkovskij in his interest in mysticism and the supernatural. Botkin's triumph was an unusual combination of objective examination of subjective material. Among his unpublished works are studies of Santa Teresa de Jesús, Quevedo, Suárez de Figueroa, and *La Celestina* (to the best of my knowledge the first of its kind in Russia).

In 1916 Botkin published an article on Calderón entitled "Dramaturg-Mistik" (The Mystic Playwright), in *Vestnik Evropy* of December, 1916, pp. 153-177. The following year, in line with his interest in the supernatural, he published a scholarly analysis of Alarcón's *La cueva de Salamanca* entitled "K istorii magii v Ispanii XVII veka" (On the History of Magic in Seventeenth-century Spain) (*žurnal ministerstva narodnogo prosveščenija*, of February 1917, pp. 204-233), in which he demonstrated the Spaniard's indebtedness to works on magic by Cornelius Agrippa (*De Occulta Philosophia*, 1533) and Giambattista della Porta's *Magiae Naturalis*, 1589.

In a study which reflects Petrov's preoccupation with the Spanish comedy of manners, Botkin compares and contrasts Corneille's *Le Menteur* and Alarcón's *La verdad sophechosa* ("P'er Kornel'i Ruis de Alarkon" in *Zapiski neofiliologičeskogo obščestva, Vypusk VIII* [1915], 44-51).

Soviet scholars and critics have written hundreds of studies, of varying quality, on many aspects of Spanish culture, history, and literature. Soviet criticism tends to examine the *comedia* very much in the way Puškin, Jur'ev, Ostrovskij, and Kovalevskij did, but often deemphasizes the close ties between the Spanish people and its king. This is especially true in studies on *Fuenteovejuna*. After Lope de Vega, Tirso de Molina and Cervantes receive the greatest attention, while Alarcón receives less and Calderón as a religious writer almost none.

Soviet *comediantes* have been severely handicapped by not having easy access to Western archives and libraries and have therefore been deprived of basic sources of new materials. Therefore, it should not surprise us that among the very finest Soviet studies on the *comedia* are bibliographic essays and in the area of Hispano-Russian literary and cultural relations.

Mikhail P. Alekseev has made invaluable contributions to this field, especially in his very well documented study *Očerki istorii ispano-russkix literaturnyx otnošenij XVI-XIX vekov* (*Essays on Hispano-Russian Literary Relations from the XVI to the XIX Centuries* [1963]). The essays collected in this work had appeared previously in other publications, including a book, *Kul'tura Ispanii* (*The Culture of Spain* [1940]). *Kul'tura Ispanii* contains many fine articles by other Russian Hispanists, including B. V. Kreževskij's "Tvorčestvo Lope de Vega" ("The Art of Lope de Vega" [pp. 190-221]). Alekseev's essay entitled "Iz istorii ispano-russkix literaturnyx otnošenij XVI-načala XIX vekov" ("From the History of Hispano-Russian Literary Relations of the 16th to the 19th Centuries") provides an excellent description of the influence of Spanish literature on Russian culture until the early 1840's.

In 1962 the Hispanist Zaxarij I. Plavskin published an exhaustive bibliographic essay on Lope de Vega entitled *Lope de Vega—Bibliografija russkix perevodov i kritičeskoy literatury na russkom jazyke—1735-1961* (*Lope de Vega—A Bibliography of Russian Translations and Criticism in Russian—1735-1961*). In this essay Plavskin also included detailed studies on the performances of Lope de Vega on the Tsarist and Soviet stages. Another excellent bibliographic essay with an equally fine introduction is Alisa D. Umirkian's *Migel' de Servantes Saavedra—Bibliografija russkix perevodov i kritičeskoy literatury na russkom jazyke—1763-1957* (*Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra—Bibliography of Russian Translations and Criticism—1763-1957*). This is the only reliable bibliographic essay on Cervantes in Russia.

Until the Spanish Civil War there was no Soviet history of the Spanish Golden Age Theater, and Sergej Ignatov's *Ispaniskij Teatr XVI-XVII vekov* (*The Spanish Theater of the 16th and 17th Centuries* [1939]) was the first Soviet book on this subject. Ignatov, in fact, lamented that there had not been any original Russian studies on the *comedia* since Petrov's. And his sole purpose in this book was to create an interest in this field among Russian scholars. Ignatov provides for his readers a fine and succinct exposition on the history of the Spanish Theater from its beginnings to the end of the seventeenth century. Without any claim to originality, Ignatov analyzes the life and works of Spain's great playwrights, but his most lucid and informative writing deals with the physical stage from Lope de Rueda to the Royal theaters in Buen Retiro. One of the work's unique features is Ignatov's objective description of the Church's relationship with, and the importance of religious elements in, Spain's theater.

In 1947 Leningrad University published a volume of Hispanic essays on a wide range of topics written by its faculty (*Naučnyj Bjuulleten'*, No. 14-15). One of the most informative articles is a survey of Hispanic studies at the University, on which I do not comment for lack of space.

Plavskin is also the author of many works on the Spanish Golden Age Theater. His book *Lope de Vega* (1960), which was not intended for the specialist, discusses Lope's plays as a description of the class struggle between the oppressed and the oppressors. In 1948, in a volume of essays by several Soviet scholars dedicated to Cervantes (*Servantes, stat'i i materialy* [*Cervantes, Articles and Materials*]), Plavskin published an erudite study of *La Numancia* in which he examines the possible historical sources of this tragedy. Plavskin shows that Cervantes wove these historical facts into a manifesto of love for freedom and hate for the dictator. In doing so, Cervantes created a mass protagonist who has become a universal symbol of heroic collective resistance in the face of enemy encirclement.

N. I. Balašov, a *comediante*, has published several well-documented scholarly studies on the *comedia* as well as Hispano-Russian literary relations. In his "Lope de Vega i problematika ispanskoj dramy XVII veka na vostočnoslavjanskie temy" (*Lope de Vega and comedias on East Slavic Themes*), (*Izvestija Akademii Nauk SSSR, Otdelenie literatury i jazyka* XXII [1963], 3-18), Balašov states that Lope was interested in Russian and other East European themes because these countries had also struggled against non-Christian invaders in their own *Reconquista*. Balašov states in his detailed analysis of Lope's *El gran duque de Moscovia*, a play based on the Boris Godunov theme, that the Spanish playwright was not interested so much in the religious strife between

Rome and Moscow. In the true Renaissance tradition, Lope lashes out against the despot by means of his characterization of Ivan and justifies Dmitrij's right to the throne usurped by Boris. Lope also shows that Dmitrij will be a wise and just ruler because he mixes with the lower classes (especially the peasantry), which he meets during his exile in Poland.

The following year, Balašov published an article based on unpublished censorship copies of two *comedias*, *El gran duque de Moscovia* and an anonymous work entitled *Hados y lados hacen dichosos y desdichado, el parecido de Rusia*; "Rukopisi ispanskix dram o Rusi i gumanističeskaja tradicija literatury Ispanii XVII veka" (Spanish Drama Manuscripts on Russia and the Humanistic Tradition of Spanish Seventeenth-Century Literature), (*Izvestija Akademii Nauk SSSR, Serija literatury i jazyka* XXIII [1964], 18—34). After comparing the manuscript of Lope's play with the 1617 edition, Balašov points out scribes' errors in place-names as well as numerous censorship changes. One of the censor's objections was the scene in which Ivan kills his own son. In Balašov's opinion, Lope was forced to soften these lines because it reminded the Spanish public of Philip II's killing of his son Don Carlos. In the second play the censor removed passages which attacked the despotic actions of the Russian ruler Sophia (1682-1689).

In 1966 Vidas Siliunas published an abstract from his dissertation entitled *Problema česti v tragedijax Lope de Vega (The Problem of Honor in the Tragedies of Lope de Vega)* in *Teatr*, X (1966), 132-137. Siliunas' thesis is that all of Lope's tragedies are honor tragedies, and that the cleansing of the protagonist's honor causes him great personal suffering. Among the plays he analyzes are *El castigo sin venganza*, *Fuenteovejuna*, and *La Estrella de Se-*

villa (which many Western scholars do not ascribe to Lope).

The first Soviet study dealing with Calderón as a religious writer appeared in 1967 (*Istorija zarubežnoj literatury XVII-XVIII [History of Western European Literature of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries]*, pp. 76-90). As a general rule, Soviet criticism tends to treat Calderón as a writer of revolutionary plays and comedies of manners, often comparing him with Lope de Vega. On the other hand, Russian and Soviet criticism has always had difficulty in dealing with his religious drama. Tsarist officials were particularly reluctant to present his religious plays because they feared Catholic dogma, but at least some articles on Calderón's religious works appeared.

To the best of my knowledge, no Soviet translation of his religious works has been published, and I do not know of an underground attempt to do so. Nevertheless, I am aware that many Soviet readers realize that he is not only the author of *El alcalde de Zalamea*. A mere reading of Turgenev's commentaries on Calderón would attract anyone to read *La vida es sueño* or *La devoción de la cruz*.

The essay in *Istorija zarubežnoj literatury XVI-XVII vekov* presents Calderón in the light of Spanish religious fanaticism, which includes ignorance, the horrors of the Inquisition, and the unity of Church and State, all of which Calderón defended and justified by his religious writings. S. D. Artamonov, the author of the essay, describes Calderón as inflexible in his religious faith, pessimistic about life on earth, which he

believes to be unimportant. Man suffers on earth, but if he follows the tenets of Catholic dogma he will reach paradise and God will forgive the criminal for his inhumanity to man as long as he has faith in Him. The Soviet critic attacks Calderón's belief in the concept of Heaven and Hell as a means of frightening people into obedience. For these and other similar reasons, Calderón's religious works are absolutely incompatible with Soviet criticism, and I am therefore convinced that they will not be translated or performed in the Soviet Union.

So protean and diverse is the *comedia* that it has reflected the many and complex ideologies of the Russian reader and critic for more than two centuries. In Tsarist Russia both the conservatives and liberals found in the *comedia* support for their convictions. Writers such as Puškin, Ostrovskij, and Petrov saw in it a mirror of national character and a reflection of Spanish reality. Merežkovskij, Bal'mont, and other symbolists interpreted several *comedias* by Calderón and other playwrights to show that the revolutionary and mutinous spirit in man ultimately submits to the will of God.

Soviet criticism of the *comedia* generally follows the directions of Belinskij, Nekrasov, and Jur'ev in that literature and literary criticism are made to serve social and material progress and that there should be no literature for literature's sake. This aim in Soviet criticism is clear in the extraordinary number of articles on the *comedia* dealing with plays whose theme is social progress and revolt against tyranny.

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AFRICAN LITERATURE AND COMPARATIVE LITERATURE

The study of African literature in American universities (and in most other universities throughout the world, including Africa itself) is of fairly recent development—at most six to ten years old. Indeed, so recent is this field of study that the term “African literature” is in no way fully understood or agreed upon. It is not the word “literature” which presents the difficulty here, but “African,” when it is used as an adjective before that other, more familiar word. The usual reaction to the term is the question, Is there any African literature? Or, Are Africans creating a literature of their own? We are living at a time when many people still have a tendency to think of Africa as one country, with one language, and, at most—if there is such a thing—one literature.

These common misconceptions concerning the African continent itself have led to the disparity within the teaching of African literature courses. In American universities, courses referred to as African literature are currently being taught in English, French, and anthropology departments, and at some institutions, in schools of “foreign affairs,” under the catch-all term, “area studies.”

This discrepancy is certainly due, in large part, to the lack of recognition of African literature as “literature” by certain language departments at a number of institutions. Fortunately, however, the federal government has been influential in convincing other departments (non-literary, non-linguistic) of the vital nature of studying foreign cultures through their literatures; hence, the prevalence of anthropology and area study courses in African literature. The weakness of these approaches, however, is that African literature is studied as something other than literature.

A more logical solution to the problem of where such courses belong may be found if African literature is studied as comparative literature. Looking at the terminology used to define comparative literature by a number of scholars within the field, the comparative approach to African writing seems the most logical and the most rewarding.

According to René Wellek in the *Theory of Literature*, comparative literature is “the study of relationships between two or more literatures”; and, as expanded by Henry H. H. Remak in his essay “Comparative Literature, Its Definition and Function” in *Com-*

parative Literature: Method and Perspective, it is "the study of literature beyond the confines of one particular country . . . beyond national boundaries." These basic definitions, accepted by most scholars, provide the methodology for studying the totality of African literature, no matter where or in what language it is being written.

A number of institutions have tried to solve the problem of African literature simply by breaking up their offerings into English and French literature courses, since a great amount of what is commonly referred to as contemporary African literature is being written in these two "colonial" languages. (For a further discussion of the language problems confronting African writers, see my article, "Speaking of Books: In Tropical Africa," *The New York Times Book Review*, May 4, 1968, p. 2, 50-51.) This linguistic classification no doubt assumes that Africans writing in English in Nigeria and South Africa, for example, use English in the same way, while the opposite may be true. Thus, this solution creates new problems.

Mixing African writing in English and French (i.e., from the two main colonial areas) in one course, then, would conform to our basic comparative literature definition, but such a solution would be too simple and hardly fair to those Africans who are writing in the vernacular languages. Besides English and French (and the more infrequent use of Portuguese and Afrikaans), there is also an increasing amount of indigenous African writing using dozens of the several hundred languages and dialects spoken on the continent. Many people currently engaged in the study of "African literature" are familiar with one or more of these indigenous tongues, and because of an increasing amount of translation from these languages into English and French, courses in African

literature frequently include works from half a dozen or more European and African languages.

Within a given nation—what with so many languages and tribes—comparative literature might be re-defined as the study of relationships between the literature of two or more ethnic groups. One country where there are several thriving indigenous literary languages (due in part to the increased literacy of its people) is Nigeria, where English, Ibo, Yoruba, and, to a lesser extent, Hausa, are competing with each other in a quasi-Renaissance. It should also be noted that even within a given language, it is possible to approach African literature on a comparative basis. Since so many African writers use European languages as their second language, as might be expected, their handling of this second language differs considerably because of the inevitable vernacular influences. An Ibo writer of English handles the language somewhat differently than a Yoruba writer of English; therefore, it is possible to study the vernacular speech patterns which have been retained in the transference into English. It is further possible to think of a literary oddity such as Amos Tutuola (Yoruba, Western Nigeria) in the light of a recently proposed periodical, *Comparative Literature in English*. Not quite in Pidgen English, but rather, in a language entirely his own, Amos Tutuola's famous novel, *The Palm-Wine Drinkard* (the first of six) begins as follows:

I was a palm-wine drinkard since I was a boy of ten years of age. I had no other work more than to drink palm-wine in my life. In those days we did not know other money, except COWRIES, so that everything was very cheap, and my father was the richest man in our town.

My father got eight children and I was the eldest among them, all of the rest were hard workers, but I myself was an expert palm-wine drinkard. I

was drinking palm-wine from morning till night and from night till morning. By that time, I could not drink ordinary water at all except palm-wine.

But when my father noticed that I could not do any work more than to drink, he engaged an expert palm-wine tapster for me; he had no other work more than to tap palm-wine every day.

The comparative approach to African literature, however, should not be confined to linguistic studies. In the preface to Marius François Guyard's *La littérature comparée*, Jean-Marie Carré extends the definition of comparative literature given above by stressing the importance of the relationship "entre les œuvres, les inspirations, voire les vies d'écrivains appartenant à plusieurs littératures." Especially important for Carré are the "transformations que chaque nation, chaque auteur fait subir à ses emprunts." Both Carré and Guyard regard voyages and trips certain writers have made and the influences other writers (presumably in other cultures) have made on their writing as suitable comparative subjects. Since so many African writers have received their advanced education in European and American schools, the possibilities for analyzing African literature using comparative methodology are almost unlimited. A logical point of departure is the earliest school of contemporary African poetry—Negritude, which began in Paris in the 1930's among black students living in exile, forced to assimilate into French culture, and compelled to believe that their own traditional cultures contained nothing of value.

In the seminal piece of African literary criticism, "Orphée Noir," Jean-Paul Sartre explains the origins of the Negritude movement and attempts to justify the use of French as the language of these writers: "les noirs n'ont pas de langue qui leur soit commune. . . . C'est le français qui fournira au

chantre noir la plus largue audience parmi les noirs. . . ." Consequently, "l'âme noire est une Afrique dont le nègre est exilé au milieu des froids buildings de la culture et de la technique blanches." The Negritude movement, in its affirmation of traditional African life, of blackness, and of all things distinctly African in nature, could only have begun outside of Africa. As Gerald Moore has said in *Seven African Writers* (London, 1962, p. 10):

The black man living in a continent of black men, embedded in his own society, does not need constantly to trumpet and proclaim his blackness. But the black man who finds himself in the bottom stratum of a society dominated by colour gradations; without a language, a culture or even a name distinctly his own; separated three thousand miles and a couple of centuries from his origins; that man will wish to justify and exalt his blackness. . . .

The French policy of assimilation clearly acted as a kind of negative catalyst or "transformation" to which African writers had to submit because of their travels and studies exposing them to the Western world and Western literature. According to Kennedy and Trout, Negritude, and its relationship to Surrealism, was in one sense an attempt to change French literature into a new literature which "would find its sources in what these students thought of as the Negro's 'special' sensibility, his feeling for rhythms, myth, nature, the erotic and emotional life, and group solidarity," ("The Roots of Negritude," *Africa Report*, XI [May 1966], 61).

Negritude, then, is almost too perfect an example of one literature growing directly out of another culture and its literature, be it, as they were, negative influences: exile, assimilation, and rejection of French culture by African students living in France between the two world wars.

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that could be adduced for what Carré and Guyard refer to as transformations to which nations and authors have submitted, undergoing and revealing in the process that all-important term "influence." The brilliant Guinean novelist Camara Laye, for example, who also began his writing career in France, admits the influence Franz Kafka has had on his work. A cursory reading of his novel, *Le Regard du roi*, clearly demonstrates the influences of *The Trial* and *The Castle*. Another example can be found in Amos Tutuola, who attended English mission schools for six years and, as one critic has pointed out, gives the impression of having undergone a crash course in world mythology. Other critics have illustrated the influences of two of Tutuola's school books, the Bible and *Pilgrim's Progress*, on his writing.

At least one study illustrating the influence of the Victorian novel on West African novels written in English has been made. Until the last two or three years, the Victorian novel was standard fare for introducing the novel to students in West African English-speaking schools. Wole Soyinka, the Nigerian playwright, has been influenced (besides by his own traditional Yoruba drama) by such disparate inspirations as Shakespeare and the Theatre of the Absurd, in part, no doubt, because of his internship at the Royal Court Theatre in London. The South African novelist, Peter Abrahams, admits his indebtedness to several black American writers: W. E. B. DuBois, Langston Hughes, Countee Cullen, etc. If we are bothered by the fact that in most of these cases the African author writes in the same language which has influenced him, we need only remember that almost all of these writers use English or French as a second language—in large part to help bridge some of the cultural barriers. Instead of always looking for the European influences, it might be more im-

portant to ask what has been retained from the vernacular languages. Indeed, the field of influence studies (albeit Africa appears to have been on the receiving end) is ripe for comparative studies on these and a host of other writers. Even on the continent itself, influence studies are also possible since the East African novel clearly shows evidence of a number of borrowings from the West African novel.

The study of genres, their migrations and transformations, offers an exciting challenge to the student of African literature. As one would expect, and as has already been pointed out with the Negritude poets, African writers have not been content simply to imitate the literature of other cultures, nations, and languages. Here, again, Amos Tutuola needs to be mentioned for his uniqueness, for his "novels" are not novels at all in the traditional sense, unless one wants to think of them as a future direction toward which the novel might be moving. Rather, they conform more closely to the medieval romance, the quest, with all its stages of search, initiation, conquest, and reward. They have been deeply influenced by the tradition of story-telling in Yoruba life and the Yoruba novelist, Chief D. O. Fagunwa. It is here that another quotation from Wellesk's definition of comparative literature is especially applicable, for Wellesk notes the importance of "oral tradition, especially of folk tale themes and their migration; and how and when they have entered 'higher,' 'artistic' literature." Not surprisingly, Tutuola's tales have been referred to as a missing link between oral literature and the Western novel.

"Novel" is perhaps the wrong word here, at least as far as Africa is concerned. In writing of the African "novel," more than one critic has stated that the novel itself is a non-African form, but few have ventured to say what

they mean by this. I will not go so far as to deny Africans the privilege of writing in any form they choose, but I will admit that the novel in Africa frequently differs from the Western concept. I have had particular success with my own students by letting them discover what the major differences between the African and the Western novel are. It is perhaps for this comparative reason too that so many courses in African literature include "African" novels by Europeans and Americans: Joseph Conrad, Joyce Cary, Graham Greene, Saul Bellow, etc., or the South African writers (who present a different point of view also): Alan Paton, Nadine Gordimer, Doris Lessing, etc.

What are these differences? The West African novel in English stresses (as does Negritude poetry) the community over the individual, and the typical plot of an African novel is oriented toward a situation rather than toward a character or characters. Rarely is a character developed to any significance, rarely is character interaction of any importance. Instead, the communal experience is much more significant. The result is that African novels in English are not novels of character analysis, but novels of event—and the ramifications of that event for an entire group of people, a village, a tribe, a nation. (These generalizations usually do not apply to the French African novel which is much more closely aligned to the European novel.) Since so many African writers have had to rely on a reading audience outside of Africa, the African novel in English has tended to be anthropological—somewhat equivalent to "local color" in our own literature. Even something as basic as description is treated quite differently in most African novels than it is in Western ones. Description is almost always func-

tional (like African plastic arts); rarely is it used to create atmosphere or mood as in, say, a Thomas Hardy novel. In addition to the purely technical differences, the content or subject of African fiction is widely different too. For example, there are very few "love" stories.

Because we in the West know so little about Africa and even less about Africans themselves, courses in African literature in the past have tended to be introductory courses in African culture, art, history, political science, sociology. In this larger context, it is perfectly logical to refer to Professor Remak's definition of comparative literature once again: "the study of literature beyond the confines of one particular country, and the study of relationships between literature on the one hand and other areas of knowledge and belief, such as the arts, . . . philosophy, history, the social sciences, . . . the sciences, religion, etc., on the other." The study of African literature lends itself naturally to all these related fields and should remind us of what Guyard says a study of comparative literature could teach the French about the English: "Une telle étude amène à comprendre comment nous voyons les Anglais et pourquoi nous les voyons ainsi; . . . la littérature comparée peut aider deux pays à opérer une sorte de psychanalyse nationale: en connaissant mieux la source de leurs préjugés mutuels, chacun se connaît mieux et sera plus indulgent pour l'autre qui a nourri des préventions analogues aux siennes." Clearly the comparative approach to African literature is the richest way of studying the literature itself, and the most logical way of aiding Africa and the West in gaining a mutual understanding of each other.

Anthony Thorlby

COMPARATIVE LITERATURE*

There has been much uncertainty and disagreement about what Comparative Literature is supposed to be, not least among those who regard it as their subject. Perhaps its most striking characteristic, when it is seen alongside the other "literatures" which are studied at schools and universities, is a negative one: Comparative Literature is not attached to any national concept. It suggests something different from English Literature, or French Literature, or German Literature, namely, a type of literary study which ranges across national frontiers. This suggestion of something international in its scope and purpose can have the effect of making the subject imaginatively attractive to a student even before he knows at all what he might be expected to read and think about. Doubtless, like other kinds of international enthusiasm, that aroused by Comparative Literature will not be easy to realize in any very concrete form and is most likely to be disappointed. Nevertheless, the impetus which the subject evidently receives simply by virtue of

its not accepting national limits may have some significance. Such interest is in itself lightweight, a straw in the wind; but the forces which are compelling western attitudes toward nationality generally to change are powerful, and academic conventions will also feel their pressure.

The more conventional view of literary studies is that the body of material which constitutes a degree course in a national literature forms a natural whole, complete in itself; and that it should therefore be studied systematically from beginning to end. That this view is no more than a convention, and perhaps ultimately a self-defeating convention, is likely to become clearer with time. The sheer accumulation of books of criticism and other secondary material, together with the new creative writing which is more slowly added to the national heritage, already forces students of literature to become more and more selective within their chosen field. Other obvious factors combine to make the conventions of knowledge stand out more sharply and look increasingly fragile. There is, on the one hand, the large increase in the number of scholars who concern themselves with literature; on

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the other hand, the field for research tends to appear exhausted. At the same time that more material becomes available than anyone can manage to master, it seems increasingly difficult to find anything that has not already been mastered.

* * *

The presence of such paradoxes in the modern "production" of knowledge is likely to show, of course, in other fields besides literature. Literary studies may simply be more sensitive to them, because their primary *raison d'être* is a mysterious and essentially personal experience: an intuition, an interest, an involvement in something which aesthetic theory rather inadequately defines as beauty. This experience provides a kind of permanent touchstone as to what is, and what is not, worth knowing. Knowledge which is not inspired by, and does not inspire, any sense of personal participation may, with regard to the study of literature, justifiably be regarded as pointless. In no field is it more apparent that truth must mean something more than factual knowledge. Here, no one can for long insist that, to learn the recorded findings of other scholars, once alive with the breath of new insight but now fossilized as fact, is to ensure a proper grasp of the subject.

It would be absurd to imagine that Comparative Literature automatically offers any solution to the problems besetting the academic study of literature. Indeed, the form in which the subject has often made itself academically acceptable, particularly in France, constitutes only a minor variation of conventional literary history, and one which suggests a largely secondhand interest in original authors and works. This is the study of so-called "international" influences, that is, the reception and reputation of an author in some country other than his own. While great scholars like Baldensperger or Wellek

can make a book of this kind an occasion for exceptional insights into the mind both of the writer whose reputation is being considered, and of those he influenced, such subjects readily turn into rather artificial surveys, where the interest of what is established is minimal by comparison with the labour of research.

Lest anyone accept that this is, in fact, the unwritten rule by which universities prescribe the subject of graduate dissertations, it may be as well to point out the ideological assumptions on which this kind of research rests. The first is that an author's reception and reputation in *one country* constitutes a natural unit of knowledge, circumscribed and complete in itself. The second is that in this way the essentially *factual* basis of literature's international importance is established. The concept of country and the concept of fact that are involved here are characteristic of a certain late nineteenth-century attitude of mind to which it does not seem necessary to tie Comparative Literature for all time. There is not even anything particularly "comparative" about it. It is significant that Professor Wellek has subsequently often made it plain that he does not believe Comparative Literature should restrict itself to this type of enquiry.

* * *

Various influences have been at work in the present century to give Comparative Literature much fuller opportunities. One of these is Marxist ideology in the broadest rather than politically doctrinaire sense. (Comparative Literature was in fact banned under Stalin, but following the "Thaw" has developed again in all East European countries, where three international conferences on the subject have been held since 1960.) The idea that cultural values are the product of social and economic conditions inevitably places questions of individual genius and

national tradition in a new light. Opponents of this view hold that it also distorts or neglects the truly literary qualities of a work. Every thing depends on the intelligence of the critic, of course; in itself this approach merely offers the possibility of making potentially (though not necessarily) illuminating comparisons with works produced in what are held to be comparable social conditions elsewhere. It thereby satisfies a fundamental desire of the comparatist: which is to discover a basis of comparison between writers working in different countries and sometimes also in different epochs.

About the virtue of general comparisons for the understanding of art something will be said later; at this point, it may be more appropriate to mention another of the influences which helps to foster this comparative desire, even though it does not in itself imply any particular formula for satisfying it. This is the cultural displacement of the European nations from their imagined position at the centre of civilization, and with it the first signs of a genuine diminishing of national attitudes. Here the inheritance by North America of Europe's cultural tradition has provided a standpoint which invites a supranational view of European literature; it is not surprising that Comparative Studies have flourished most at American universities, sometimes under the name of Comparative Literature, but also in many other new approaches to the study of literature on a non-national basis.

The course titles commonly used in American universities, such as "World Literature," "General Literature," or simply "Literature" (besides "Comparative Literature," in which it is possible to obtain a degree, and not only an M.A. or Ph.D. but also a B.A.), have generally not been adopted in British universities. This does not mean that

nothing similar is ever taught there. Most modern language faculties offer joint degree courses in two literatures, and this presents opportunities for some comparative teaching, which at various times and places—among other universities, at Southampton and Edinburgh—particular scholars have taken up in accordance with their own research interests. Again, English literature has obvious points of contact with European literatures, for instance, with Italian during the Renaissance period and an individual professor of English, like Professor Gordon at Reading, may be as expert as any comparatist in this field without ever calling himself one.

Indeed, there has been almost a tradition among professors of English in this country, and still more so in Scotland, that some of them should extend their scholarly knowledge and writing beyond what strictly speaking was their department. It is necessary only to call to mind a few names to realize how common this practice has been: G. Saintsbury, H. Grierson, G. L. Bickersteth, C. S. Lewis, G. Wilson Knight, B. Willey, F. L. Lucas, F. Kermode, D. Davie. . . . Nor need the list be confined to departments of English; among scholars at Oxford who have written on the subject of Romanticism in European literature and thought, one has been an historian, one a professor of politics, and another (originally) a classicist. It would be a lengthy and invidious task even to contemplate making such lists complete, and anyway superfluous, in order simply to establish the point that, though Comparative Literature as a concept has been rather frowned upon in Britain, many distinguished books by English scholars contain material which elsewhere would be regarded as "comparative."

* * *

As a result, a research student in this country may well include some

comparative work in his dissertation, provided that his professor is sympathetic; but his degree and the title of his thesis will be regarded as belonging among the conventional literary disciplines. The place where Comparative Literature is generally excluded is from the B.A. Final Degree examination; and since the departmental structure of British universities is largely designed to meet the requirements of this degree, it follows that the subject remains outside the *official* teaching programme, however much it may interest individual scholars privately. Students may study French and German Literature concurrently or switch from Classics in the first half of their course to English in the second, but each examination they take will be on a single national topic.

There are occasional exceptions. In the Cambridge English Tripos, for instance, the courses on "Tragedy," "The Novel" and "The English Moralists" carry a wide range of possible reading in foreign literatures; there is even one specifically comparative option on "Petrarchism." Further, in the new universities comparative literary studies have begun to receive some recognition as suitable for undergraduate teaching. The "Foundation Year" at Keele, in presenting a survey of the evolution of European culture, draws literary examples from various national backgrounds. In the first year at Kent, topics like realism and naturalism are handled in a comparative manner, and even less departmentalized topics like "The Evolution of the City" may use literature as evidence. At Sussex, not only are there courses on "Tragedy" based on a variety of European texts, both ancient and modern, but also joint topics in literature and history, a "Foundations" course (on Plato, Virgil, and Dante) and a course combining the study of modern sociological, psychological, philosophical, and literary texts in a broadly European

context. Only at East Anglia has the actual term "Comparative Literature" been adopted for an undergraduate degree course, which is to begin next October; the comparative element will be built around the theme of realism in fiction, with reference to Dickens, George Eliot, Flaubert, Fontane, and Chekhov. Both East Anglia and Sussex offer an M.A. in Comparative Literature.

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One objection often raised against Comparative Literature is that it seeks to impose patterns of similarity on widely different works of literature and thus encourages insensitivity to the finer detail which is the true mark of artistic quality. Now, admittedly, any method of studying literature can be followed clumsily: but Comparative Literature does not in itself commit one to any other principle than that comparison is a most useful technique for analysing words of art, and that instead of confining comparison to writings in the same language, one may usefully choose points of comparison in other languages. No one, surely, can ever have proposed to study "identical literature"! When the idea of studying "modern," as opposed to classical languages and literatures, was born some 200 years ago, a comparative method soon came to be adopted in philology; (courses in Comparative Philology, which have long been in existence at British universities, sometimes lead to a comparative study of literary texts). The comparative method was only occasionally adumbrated, however, with regard to literature, albeit by some of the greatest scholars, like the brothers Schlegel and Sismondi.

The word "comparative" originally had scientific connotations, as in the case of comparative anatomy; comparison was expected to bring out both the differences between languages, or between animals, at the same time that it re-

vealed deeper organic relationships and kinships. It was probably this scientific expectation which made the application of a comparative method to literature seem problematical. To many scholars it seemed more scientifically sound to stick to non-comparative literary history, since this could be based on fact. Even among the more recent school of critics who have succeeded the literary historians and turned to examine "the text itself," there is a lingering positivist belief that in this way the factual basis of beauty will be pinned down. The comparatist has the possibility of passing beyond this belief, and also beyond the recurrent dispute as to whether philology or literary history or textual criticism should form the proper foundation of a literary education. The comparatist need only accept one self-evident principle of aesthetic awareness, which is valid in all the arts: that to see one poem, or one picture, or one building is to have little feeling for its qualities. To see another example of the "same" thing, which being another work of art is of course not the same but only "comparable," is to take the first step towards recognizing what is in each case good, original, difficult, intended. There need be no factual connexion between the two examples, but the comparatist must know how to juxtapose them. If he goes far afield for his comparisons, this is not in order to prove any thesis of universal philology or historical evolution or structural aesthetics, but primarily for the pleasure of the thing, to broaden the basis of his experience, as an adventure.

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This is not to say that Comparative Literature has not developed conventions of its own, which guide comparatists in their choice of comparisons. These conventions might be likened to experimental exhibitions of art works; the theme of the exhibition may be some-

what arbitrary, but the result of showing these works together in this way is to bring out qualities in them which might not otherwise be seen. At least such a picture of the subject is less misleading than the image, which critics of Comparative Literature try to pin on it, of a monster pseudo-science that seeks to make dogmatic generalizations about all literature. Some of the earliest themes, invented by the first Romantic generations of scholars, were based on ideas of the comparability of literary works, and indeed of whole literatures, on the grounds of a common "spirit" or attitude of life which they were felt to share: a Christian as opposed to a pagan spirit, a Northern as opposed to a Mediterranean one, a reflective and sentimental cast of mind as opposed to a naive and spontaneous one. These broad concepts were refined with the growth of more detailed understanding of Europe's cultural evolution. Research in the history of ideas and in the history of art led to narrower definitions of literary periods, such as "baroque," "neo-classical," "pre-romantic," and so on.

The fact that it is impossible to establish the character of such periods with the precision of a law which applies exactly to all the literature of each period, has prompted some scholars to challenge the meaningfulness of this approach. They are perhaps wrong chiefly in supposing that only Comparative Literature is vulnerable here. It is just as difficult to prove what a literary period is within one national literature or even within one writer's work. What is at issue here is the relationship of ideas generally to things. The relationship is potentially uncertain in every moment of our mental life, but convention mercifully allows this uncertainty to be glossed over. Art, on the other hand, tends to unsettle every convenient generalization which is made about it. Not to have experienced the fragility and in-

adequacy of all conventionally knowledgeable statements about it, is not to have experienced something of its essential power. Similarly, the same pedantic criticism can be levelled at another of the comparatist's conventions as can be made against historical theories of period. For Comparative Literature also busies itself with studies of techniques and genres of writing. But what *exactly* constitutes symbolism or tragedy? Tomorrow a new work may be written which we shall recognize as symbolic or tragic in a sense comparable with the examples which we already know, even though these examples do not enable us to predict or regulate what the new work will be like.

A comparative scholar must be the first to recognize, then, that the knowledge he acquires may not be equated with factual certainty. He knows that the facts of philology and history and textual observation will be interesting or not, according to the context of ideas in which he places them. Doubtless all ideas are mercurial, unreliable, elusive things, part of the intangible suggestion of meaning and beauty which we can point to in experience or in a book but never properly get hold of. Unfortunately, the processes of teaching and examining, particularly on a large scale, tend to put a premium on certainty of information and to reduce ideas to a convenient factual form. But without ideas the life of the mind is not worth living and education becomes a grinding bore.

* * *

Comparative Literature must in the end be able to justify itself on some more positive grounds than that it does not adhere to a national tradition. Its negative freedom from one convention should ideally provide an opportunity for a creative openness to new ideas. Moreover, these new ideas may very likely not derive primarily from the international

character of the subject; simply to learn the lessons of one national literature in two, three, four or however many other cases does not necessarily add very much to one's understanding besides bulk. The really suggestive points of contact may be found less in other literatures than in other disciplines, i.e. other areas of human experience and inquiry. An international attitude to "literature" should be important mainly as providing a richer storehouse of examples. The examples themselves, which literature generally provides, do not have to be studied solely as examples of technique, for the sake of their specifically artistic quality. That is to say, it may not always be fruitful to try to isolate this quality; the more exclusively the mind tries to focus on the purely aesthetic character of art, the more rarified this tends to appear. The most valuable implication contained in the concept of Comparative Literature may be that literature should be compared with something beyond itself.

Literature speaks to us immediately about things other than beauty: about religious and social attitudes, about moral and emotional values, and not about these things in the abstract, but about what they feel like in practice, in the experience of people. It is the variety of this experience on subjects like fear and freedom and forgiveness which may in the end form the basis of comparative studies, in conjunction with non-literary materials bearing on the same questions, as they have been understood by philosophers, say, or sociologists, psychologists, historians. The contrary view is often asserted, of course, that if you treat literature in this way you get only secondhand ideas or such other diluted information as compares badly with what the appropriate specialist has to say, and that you obviously have no feeling then for the literature "as literature." Surely, this

old cliché could be challenged at last. It concedes too much importance to knowledge in the abstract and claims too little for literature. Precisely *this* kind of comparison is capable of throwing into high relief what is distinctive

in literature: which is certainly not that it is remote from truth, but rather that it makes other statements of truth seem remote from experience.

The University of Sussex

REVIEWS OF RECENT TRANSLATIONS

Roy Arthur Swanson

Homer/The Odyssey: A New Verse Translation, tr. Albert Cook (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1967, xii + 340 pp.).

The appearance of Albert Cook's Homer occasions the observation that teachers of the *Odyssey* in translation now have four recent poetic versions from which to choose. Cook's loosely rendered and lightly annotated work offers a challenge to Ennis Rees's 1960 translation (Modern Library); but Robert Fitzgerald's 1961 translation (Doubleday) and Richmond Lattimore's 1965 translation (Harper) ought not to suffer from the competition. The respective merits of Fitzgerald's and Lattimore's versions result in a balance of attractions: Fitzgerald's translation is the more poetic and the more readable, Lattimore's, the more accurate and scholarly. Cook's translation, like Rees's, has no distinctive virtues. Chiefly, it is indistinct in idiom, as it wavers between modern and either archaic or obsolescent English.

A translator of Lucretius must give evidence of the Roman poet's deliberate archaisms. A translator of Catullus must

reproduce that poet's mélange of formal and colloquial diction. Pindar challenges his translator to blend a relatively simple vocabulary into majestically complex thematic sequences. Hesiod mixes the epic and didactic modes. And in his *Metamorphoses* Ovid manipulates a variety of modes. *Malgré* Cook, there are no such mixtures in the *Odyssey*, to which the clearly struck and straightforward idioms of Fitzgerald and Lattimore are consistently loyal.

Cook translates *smerdaléos d' autéisi phánē kekakóménos hálmei* (6.137) as "Frightfully begrimed with brine did he appear to them." His mixture of translation English, archaic inversion, and bad English ("begrimed with brine") has no antecedent in the *Odyssey*. Fitzgerald has "Streaked with brine, and swollen, he terrified them." The word "swollen" is extracontextual, but it helps to render the subtle assonance of the Greek without corrupting the context. Lattimore's somewhat prosaic "he appeared terrifying to them, all crusted with dry spray" is impeccably precise; Rees puts it much the same way but not quite so concisely: "And to them/He appeared very terrible indeed, all encrusted with brine/As he was."

The *Odyssey* begins with the one word which defines its theme, *ándra* (man). Odysseus, by his reactions to every conceivable challenge of life and by his survival of the dangers inherent in these challenges, represents in epic scale the self-fulfilled human being. The poem opens with a humanistic manifesto: Odysseus' choice of humanity and human action over the divine but passive existence offered to him by Calypso. A translator should retain the Homeric emphasis on "man" by beginning his translation of the *Odyssey* with the word on which that poem begins and hinges. Fitzgerald relegates the word to the second line of his translation. Rees, Lattimore and Cook include the word postpositively in their respective first lines. E. V. Rieu is to be applauded for beginning his 1946 prose translation (Penguin Books) of the *Odyssey* with "The hero" even though *héros* has some connotations that are not in common with those of *anér*.

Rieu is also superior to the four verse translators in rendering *sphētérēisin atasthalíēisin* by "their own sin." Fitzgerald, Lattimore and Cook all appropriate the lexical entry "recklessness" to their translations of the word *atasthalíēisin*; while Rees uses the untenable phrase "thoughtless greed." The Greek word denotes "conscious wrongdoing" and differs from *átē* (blindness which predisposes to wrongdoing), *hamartia* (in deliberate wrongdoing), and *húbris* (wrongdoing manifest in presumption). "Recklessness" is more in keeping with any of the other three words than with *atasthalía*, unless it is qualified by some such word as "willful." This is not always the case, but it holds true with respect to the *atasthalía* of Odysseus' men, who at the urging of Eurylochus (12.339-365) consciously and willfully choose to slaughter and consume the cattle of the Sun and to risk the consequences of their acts. In the

Odyssey their actions are presented as a matter, not of recklessness, but of reckoned choice arrived at from the apparent alternative of starvation.

The differing merits of the four verse translations are immediately discernible in their respective opening lines. And all four, in my opinion, must defer to the serviceability of Rieu's prose. For 1.13-15 Cook has "Yet he alone, longing for his wife and for a return,/Was held back in a hollowed cave by the queenly nymph Calypso,/The divine goddess, who was eager for him to be her husband." The indefinite article before "return" destroys the Homeric parallelism of "wife" and "return." "Hollowed cave" is as redundant as "deep caverns" (*spéssi glaphyrotisi*) is correct. "Queenly nymph" is archaic. "Divine goddess" is redundant.

Rees's version of this initial passage is as follows: "Odysseus alone, full of longing for wife and friends,/Was kept from returning by that beautiful nymph Calypso,/The powerful goddess who hoped to make him her husband." Rees avoids redundancy; but he disregards *spéssi* and interpolates the uncalled-for "friends."

Fitzgerald has "while he alone still hungered/for home and wife. Her ladyship Kalypso/clung to him in her sea-hollowed caves—/a nymph, immortal and most beautiful,/who craved him for her own." His slight inadequacies are both determined and offset by the music of his lines. "Ladyship" is obtrusive but its assonance with "Kalypso" at least echoes the reduplication in "pótñi éruke Kalypsó." "Sea-hollowed" properly and without redundancy exploits the onomatopoeia of "hollowed."

Lattimore's version runs: "This one alone, longing for his wife and his homecoming,/was detained by the queenly nymph Kalypso, bright among goddesses,/in her hollowed caverns, desiring that he should be her husband." His

"queenly nymph" and "hollowed caverns" anticipate the faults in Cook's translation; but Lattimore's "prose" (it is verse only because it is divided into verse-length line units) is literally true to its model. It retains "goddesses" and "caverns," where Cook's "goddess" and "cave" assume a synecdoche that is not justified by the Homeric syntax.

Fitzgerald's "immortal" puts Calypso on a par with goddesses and distinguishes her among women. Lattimore's "bright among goddesses" makes Calypso stand out among her divine peers; and the phrase is a literal equivalent of *dia theáōn*. Rees's "powerful goddess" is a much less effective phrase than Lattimore's; but it can intimate distinction among peers. Cook's redundancy makes Calypso's deity static, and his singular number deprives Calypso of any distinction, whether as a very special woman or as a very special goddess. Rieu preceded Rees in using the phrase "powerful goddess"; creditably, he attributes plurality to "cave" by using the graphic adjective "vaulted" for *glaphyroīsi*. I think that his version is generally preferable to the other versions: "Odysseus alone was prevented from returning to the home and wife he longed for by that powerful goddess, the Nymph Calypso, who wished him to marry her, and kept him in her vaulted cave." Rieu's simplicity and Fitzgerald's music would be admirably complementary in a single translation of the *Odyssey*.

The translator who wants to bring the *Odyssey* (or any work) to his reader ought not to neglect needed annotation and commentary, especially if his publication is to be required for a literature-in-translation course. Fitzgerald's 1962 "postscript," appended to the Anchor Books edition of his work, is edifying in its presentation of the problems of translating the *Odyssey* and in its reverent explication of the Greek

poet's art. Lattimore's introduction and glossary are invaluable to the student reading the *Odyssey* for the first time. Rees's short introduction is much too general; and in it he states that "the Greek text of this version is, with few exceptions, that most generally accepted by modern editors." Which text, one wonders, would that be? Cook's brief preface is a pointless apology; his sparse footnotes are helpful but just fail in being gratuitous; his glossary, with its 111 items (as compared with Lattimore's 450-item glossary) is far from adequate.

Cook's verse translation, inferior to those by Fitzgerald and Lattimore, is perhaps slightly better than the one by Ennis Rees, not because Cook's English is the more idiomatic or truer to the Greek, but because Rees glosses over difficulties. For example, Rees's solution to *spéssi glaphyroīsi* is to eliminate it. In so doing he destroys the balance of two important images (despite his emphasis in the introduction upon imagery and symbolism: "symbolic import," "universal images"). The images are the caverns of Calypso's residence and the halls of Odysseus' palace (e.g., 24.416). Rees is alone in this neglect; but none of the translators mentioned here—including Rieu, who translates *dómōn* by "gate"—honors the polytropism of Calypso's cave and Odysseus' house in semantic association with that of the *ánēr polýtropos*. The versatile author of the *Odyssey* continues to confound those who, unaware of its seamarks, would change his manifold poem into something old and familiar.

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L. R. Lind

Ovid's Amores, tr. Guy Lee, with Latin text (New York: Viking Press, 1968, 209 pp.).

The translator of Ovid's *Amores* must always invite comparison with Mar-

lowe's incomparable version. The results are bound to be disappointing. Marlowe knew his Ovid thoroughly and was an accomplished poet while none of his successors has been as gifted as he. The heroic couplet in which he wrote has been, on the whole, a serviceable measure for the translation of Latin elegiac poetry; A. E. Watts, for example, used it recently in a very readable Penguin Propertius. Even the English elegiac couplet, a frank imitation and approximation, has been used to good effect by Rolfe Humphries for the *Amores*, although he varied his approach with ballad meter in rhyme. The case for no recognizable meter for translating Ovid has yet to be made. Mr. Lee attempts to make it by choosing free verse. He rejects the heroic couplet because "it lacks the variety of the elegiacs and is haunted by the ghosts of Dryden and Pope—not to mention the Pantomime Good Fairy." (He is careful not to mention Marlowe.) Among other possibilities he lists an alexandrine plus a pentameter, or two pentameters (the first with a feminine ending); but these are obviously designed to make his free verse look more attractive, for neither has yet been thoroughly exploited by anyone, least of all for Ovid.

Lee's solution is to plump for meaning and to abandon all consistent rhythm, although he occasionally employs the alexandrine he mentions and the pentameter. The chief concession he has made to the elegiac form is to print his handsome book in two-line units spaced apart at the suggestion of Dr. Walter Marg. He has also amended the Latin text in a number of places and thus made a distinct philosophical contribution worthy of notice by Latin scholars. The result is surprisingly effective. He brings out not only the essential meaning of Ovid much in the manner Ezra Pound used for his re-

markable translation of Sophocles' *Women of Trachis* (I can offer no higher compliment than this), but, what is quite as essential, Ovid's humor. For example: "Aestus erat, mediamque dies exegerat horam,/adposui medio membra levanda toro." (I, v, 1-2) comes out thus: "Siesta time in sultry summer,/I lay relaxed on the divan," which is just about all that Ovid says. This sort of thing is repeated over and over with the same skill, making this reader at least wonder exactly how compact Latin is, after all, if Lee can so consistently make it even more compact.

Mr. Lee's English has an epigrammatic quality, another distinctive feature of Ovid's style; he is always trying for rhetorical point and polish. "I pity the man whose idea of bliss/is eight hours' sleep." (II, ix, 15-16) Ovid's humor, sophisticated and sardonic, appears in "I know your husband's senile, but why should my love suffer?/Did I arrange your marriage?" (I, xiii, 39-40) or "I admire a girl in make-up for what she is/and a girl without for what she could be." (II, iv, 37-38) In one poem (III, ix) the free verse becomes even briefer and the spaced couplets merge into "If Thetis and Aurora/Shed tears for their dead sons,/If goddesses feel grief,/Loosen your hair and weep,/Gentle Elegia," ironically enough, in the very elegy in which Ovid addresses his verse-form (as Goethe addresses it also in *Roman Elegies* XX), a sad tribute to Tibullus. I have recently translated all of Goethe's *Roman Elegies* and *Venetian Epigrams*, and I found that I needed all the syllables of the pentameter verse to hold his meaning; free verse will not do for Goethe.

The risk one runs with free verse and the extreme modernity it usually implies is to fall into slang or bad taste. I am glad to report that Mr. Lee, even at his most free, is always in good

taste. "God, what a lovely girl! But I just gazed and clung/Close as a brassière to her breasts." (III, vii, 71-72) To import subjective extraneities into the translation is also another danger with this kind of version. Here too Mr. Lee must receive high marks; there is nothing in his streamlined English that does not belong there.

It is only what is not there that may give one pause. Was it possible, given Mr. Lee's convictions about technique, to preserve more of the elegiac rhythm than he has? Could he have used a many-syllabled pentameter (not an alexandrine, which is entirely French and not Latin in its associations) for Ovid's hexameter and a more Miltonian pentameter for the second line of the distich and thus gotten more music across to the reader? Monotony is of course to be avoided in any meter; but Ovid's distichs are not monotonous and a closer approximation to them in English might have had its rewards. Perhaps, again, "half is more than all," the motto Mr. Lee has followed. Certainly, what he has given us is lively, accurate, humorous, epigrammatic, and Ovidian; one can hardly say more than that for a very successful translation.

The University of Kansas

M. Byron Raizis

Kostes Palamas, *The King's Flute*, tr. with an Introduction by Frederic Will (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1967, xxxviii + 226 pp.).

Kostes Palamas, *The Twelve Words of the Gypsy*, tr. with an Introduction by Frederic Will (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1964, xxi + 205 pp.).

Kostes Palamas (1859-1943) remains one of modern Greece's most popular and respected poets. The title of National Poet (or Laureate) was de-

servedly given to him, and several critics have tried to make his work known outside the narrow confines of Greece. But Palamas' poetry has obstinately refused to yield to the determined efforts of many translators into English, French, and other languages. The reasons for this failure are quite simple, for Palamas has created a highly poetic language which draws on elements from Homeric or Byzantine Greek, from peasant dialects and formal expressions, from folk song and contemporary Athenian idiom. The style of Palamas, especially in his longer compositions, is often rhetorical and even verbose. He likes compound words and makes up his own adjectives, which he piles up on nouns with a skill reminiscent of Homer's. His subject-matter and imagery usually derive from the inexhaustible cultural tradition of classical Hellas, Byzantium, and modern Greece. Accordingly the non-Greek readers who are capable of appreciating him are mostly Byzantinologists and historians. The numerous volumes of verse written by Palamas exhibit his ability to compose couplets, quatrains, sonnets, verse dramas, poems in rhyming and unrhyming fifteen-syllable lines, a variety of other conventional stanzaic forms and meters, and even free verse.

It is not surprising, then, that no translator thus far has been able to successfully render Palamas' verse into another language. The Greek historical, cultural, and linguistic tradition ominously looms on the translator's horizon. Attempts, however, have been made. Some simply translated Palamas into prose. But Palamas—though a serious and, at times, rather profound writer—was neither a systematic philosopher nor an original sage. He was a lyrical poet, and his thoughts and feelings become great poetry only when expressed via a richly adorned, musical, impressive and connotative diction. The simple

prose or prosaic translations of this kind of poetry by admirers of the poet (Eugène Clément in France; A. Phoutrides, D. Michalaros, R. Dalvin and others in this country) have failed to convince readers that Palamas is a poet, let alone a great poet.

The same is, unfortunately, true of the translations made by Frederic Will. Professor Will, who readily admits that he is not a Neo-Hellenic scholar and uses Clément's French prose version as a kind of "control," must be commended for his will and courage in translating the more than eight thousand lines of Palamas' lyrical epics *The Twelve Words of the Gypsy* (1907) and *The King's Flute* (1910). Mr. Will provides interesting introductions to both volumes and discusses style, plots, themes, structure, and historical background adequately. But the poetic flavor and amazing diction of Palamas—let alone his fast flowing rhythms and melody—have rarely been caught in this version. Thus *The Twelve Words* (Cantos) of the *Gypsy*—in which Palamas utilized an impressive variety of stanzaic and rhyming patterns, internal rhymes, ellipses, and other late Victorian technical devices—has been rendered into prosaic free verse. For instance, Mr. Will's stanza "I with no theologies/who bend not to any gods-/you are my fidelity and truth!/I took the churches one by one" (p. 41), in the original is a very musical quatrain rhyming a, b, c, b; with seven to eight syllables per line; with four stresses on alternate lines (1 and 3), and three stresses on the others (2 and 4).

The popular *dekapentasyllabos* (a fifteen-syllable line, very common in modern Greek balladry or sophisticated verse, the closest equivalent to the English blank verse) with occasional rhymes of *The King's Flute* has been rendered into a much greater number of lines of equally stiff free verse. For

example, the four-line passage "Who is the son of the widow, who, the/musk-nursed prince,/desire of an entire people, idol;/ and if Kroutagos holds him, what evil will follow?" is Mr. Will's version of just three perfectly metered and accented musical fifteen-syllable lines of the Greek.

Mr. Will persuasively argues about the tremendous difficulties involved in the translation of these two Neo-Hellenic literary monuments, but he also admits that he has willfully overlooked much good advice. When one considers, however, that Kimon Friar succeeded in translating 33,333 Greek seventeen-syllable lines into the same number of English consistently metered and accented lines throughout Kazantzakis' *Odyssey*, then Mr. Will's arguments lose much of their strength. If these two long translations were literally correct, the two volumes could at least be read by readers who are interested and curious to see what this poet had to say about Gypsies, Kings, and Flutes.

In *The Twelve Words of the Gypsy*, Palamas presents the Gypsy as the individuated representative of his race, and as a dynamic symbol of restlessness and freedom from tradition and responsibility. This *persona*, then, in some respects is not unlike the Greek; both value their individuality and race more than anything else. But this manly attitude has ominous implications for the cosmopolitan and multiracial Empire of Constantinople. The Emperor, in his pursuit of pleasure, is indifferent to the steady rise of the Turks (c.1350 A.D.). The Gypsy experiences the two forms of Hellenism—pagan and Christian—and senses their eventual fusion into one. Thus he prophesies death and a future resurrection. In this particular function the poet seems to identify and merge with the *persona* he has created.

All this and much more is synthesized by Palamas' compelling imagina-

tion into a kind of artistic expression (by means of lyrical philosophizing) of his anxiety *vis à vis* the historical reality and destiny of modern Greece.

By contrast *The King's Flute*, a story within a story, is less vague and fuzzy, and seems bound to historical detail. Its hero is the Emperor Basil II (957-1025) who travels, accompanied by his army, from Constantinople through Greece to Athens on a pilgrimage to worship the Virgin Mary in the Parthenon, which had been converted to a Christian Cathedral. The nature of this epic is more narrative than philosophical. Basil's journey constitutes a symbolic tribute to the unbroken unity of Hellenism. Athene and her Parthenon are continued, or transformed, into Mary and the Church. Byzantium with its splendor and culture is, it seems, the historical and physical continuation and development of classical Hellas. And contemporary Greece is—the nationalist poet implies—just another link in this chain of glorious tradition, despite all its recent misfortunes and hardships.

These two lyrical epics should be considered companion pieces. The first is concerned with feelings and thoughts aroused by the inevitable loss of worldly empire and glory. The second helps the poet (and the Greek reader) to recover from the impact of that loss through an examination of the great past and the recognition of Hellenism's dynamic and uninterrupted historical continuity.

A general idea of Palamas' achievement can be derived from these two translations. But the texts are studded with numerous and unwarranted deviations from the exact expression of the poet, and not a few mistakes in meaning. Some of these alterations might be excused if the translator had attempted a faithful imitation of style, meter, form, and rhyme. But since Mr. Will did not do that—and did not have to change

words and diction in order to "force" the original meter or rhyme into English—most of his changes are arbitrary and unfortunate. For instance, in *The Twelve Words of the Gypsy*, "Word Five" Palamas writes, "it is as if they are waiting for expensive cargoes." Mr. Will changes adjective and verb, "it is as if they carry/priceless cargoes" (p. 54). In "Word Seven" the adjective *harokopa* (fun-loving, gay and unthoughtful) becomes "lovely" (p. 89); its plural, however, is rendered in another line as "hedonists" (p. 114). The noun *to planema* (wandering here and there) becomes "course" (p. 89). In "Word Eight" *ton parastratemenon* (the wayward; those who went astray) is translated literally as "men who lost the way" (p. 114). Further down the translator has "whores" (p. 126) where Palamas has written *pornovoskoi* (pimps, panders).

In *The King's Flute*, errors are more abundant. In "Prologue" Palamas writes, "Extinguished all creative fires in the land." The translator alters it to "Darkened all creative lights in the land" (p. 1), thus eliminating the connotation of fire as creative passion or inspiration (cf. Prometheus). On page 2 he abides by this translation, but on page 3 the same Greek phrase is correctly rendered as "creative flames." Palamas continues, "Everywhere, in the castle, in the heart, embers and ashes." Mr. Will extends for no apparent reason this one line into two and a half lines: "Everywhere/in the castle and in the heart,/half burnt fragments, ashes." The translation of the "Third Word" begins awkwardly, to say the least: "Triple streets, and quadruple streets, and paths" (p. 52). If one turns to the original, it can be seen that Palamas is referring to crossroads of various kinds by *tristrata kai tetrastrata*. In the beginning of the "Tenth Word" Palamas' Greek *to bios* (property, possessions)

is rendered as "strength" (p. 184). The poet concludes his epic by referring to what happened to "the musical Flute," which the translator generously calls "the flute of the Muses" (p. 224). And so on. These are only instances picked at random.

In conclusion, one must stress the fact that George Seferis found his capable translators in the persons of Edmund Keeley, Philip Sherrard, and others; Nikos Kazantzakis spoke to us forcefully through Kimon Friar; but despite his good intentions and efforts,

Mr. Will's Kostes Palamas remains an obscure and dull poet. Mr. Will's contribution to modern Greek letters, however, should not be judged solely on the basis of the scholarly and artistic success or failure of his Palamas versions. With this pioneer effort, he has actually cut a trail into the virgin territory called Palamas' lyrical epics. Now it is up to better equipped scholars and bards to follow the trail and do this great poet justice.

Southern Illinois University

REVIEWS OF PROFESSIONAL WORKS

Ralph E. Matlaw

André von Gronicka, *The Russian Image of Goethe: Goethe in Russian Literature of the First Half of the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968, 304 pp.).

This book is aptly named: it traces the reception of Goethe's work in Russia and the reaction to the man as well as the work by a number of outstanding Russian writers, intellectuals, and thinkers. It does not attempt to deal with Goethe's "influence" or his importance in the formation of any particular writer; nor does it cover the period after 1850. The book thus essentially follows the first five chapters of Zhirmunsky's *Goethe in Russian Literature* (1937), but places greater emphasis on Goethe the man by introducing many excerpts from diaries and letters recounting visits paid to Goethe and reports of rather insipid discussions of his work in various social situations by Pushkin and others, to illustrate the high esteem in which the man and his work was held. Unfortunately it omits some figures, notably Turgenev, for whom Goethe played an enormous role, and by arbitrarily stop-

ping at mid-century, without summary, conclusion, or indication of subsequent developments, it avoids dealing with the vagaries of Goethe's reputation in the second half of the century, the crucial revaluation of Goethe by Russian symbolists, and more recent translations and critical studies. Nevertheless, the book performs a useful service for those who cannot read Russian or do not have access to certain rare texts, for it focuses on distortions of Goethe rather than his contributions to the development of Russian literature as a whole.

Professor von Gronicka holds Goethe this side of idolatry, and, despite his rather old-fashioned approach and style ([Venevitinov] . . . "fails to transmit the heartfelt simplicity, the naive tenderness of [Gretchen's] 'Lied.' There is in the Russian version a certain artiness, not to say artificiality, a certain theatricality." p. 118), demonstrates keen and balanced appreciation for Goethe's work. He repeatedly indicates the corruption of Goethe's "classical" verse by translators who expand or romanticize or in other ways obscure the pellucid original, and the faults of critical articles, particularly Shevyrev's, that distort *Faust* and other works. But

Professor von Gronicka does not adequately deal either with the difficulties and pitfalls of translation in its theoretical as well as practical phases, nor with the literary, cultural, and personal milieu that accounts for some of the changes. In short, he taxes Russian writers for their failure to understand Goethe's texts as they might be understood today, rather than analyzing the specific relevance of early nineteenth century interpretations of Goethe. Problems of versification are hardly touched upon, though they determine the limits of translating from German to Russian. At still another level, Professor von Gronicka laments not only the Russians' failure to have a total picture of Goethe's creative work but even (with the exception of Herzen) to pay attention to Goethe's scientific work, that is, to have a scholar's view of Goethe. Frequently there are translations from Russian back into German to show the discrepancies from the original.

The book contains much useful information and many perceptive analyses of Russian versions of Goethe (Lermontov's *Gornye vershiny*—"Ueber allen Gipfeln") that indicate what has been preserved and what lost. The introductory chapters trace the fortunes of *Werther* in Russia, where it was repeatedly translated and read as a sentimental novel (though this does not differ from other countries) and the relative unfamiliarity with Goethe's verse until Zhukovsky's translations. When Professor von Gronicka deals with historic material, he frequently merely repeats Zhirmunsky, as he does in several of his fleeting remarks on single poems (Zhukovsky's "Der Fischer" [p. 52] and others), without, frequently, drawing significant conclusions. We are thus left, for the most part, with a compendium of individuals' reactions to Goethe rather than any discussion of his seminal influence. The point may be illustrated in the discussion of Batyushkov, who is presented as

knowing only the "sentimental" *Werther* (p. 16). Yet one of Batyushkov's most important and best known poems is "The Dying Tasso," which is clearly relevant to the subject. There are other indications that Russian literature has not been sufficiently examined to develop a more meaningful view of "Goethe's Image," and indeed there are peculiar lapses, as in calling Karamzin's "Poor Liza" a novel (p. 12), Soloviev "Tyutchev's biographer" (p. 164) or Herzen's *From the Other Shore* "collected essays" (p. 237). Yet the book contains a wealth of material that will prove useful to students of Goethe and to those who wish to pursue other lines of inquiry in comparative literature.

University of Chicago

John R. Frey

Peter André Bloch, *Schiller und die französische klassische Tragödie* (Düsseldorf: Pädagogischer Verlag Schwann, 1968, 341 pp.).

One of the unalterable facts about Schiller's development as a dramatist is his compelling preoccupation throughout his creative life with French classical tragedy. If the latter domain included for him a Voltaire and a Crébillon, his immediate concern was predominantly with Corneille and Racine. The lively stream of his commentary which—mostly pejorative, at times professionally objective, and in rare instances laudatory—most directly attests to this preoccupation, started with the two prefaces to his first play, *Die Räuber*. In the original and prudently suppressed version, the youthful rebel against convention berated Corneille for his unnaturalness and false rhetoric, while in the printed one he lashed out at the tyranny of the three unities. To do so was indeed the well established fashion by this time, but interestingly enough, even the late, "classical" Schiller struck the same note

again when he wrote his programmatic preface to the drama *Die Braut von Messina*. It goes without saying that, in its totality, the commentary in between takes in a considerable range of points pertaining to the drama.

Similarly extensive is the easily detectable variety of elements in Schiller's plays—most conspicuously *Maria Stuart*—that one finds "reminiscent" of corresponding ones in Corneille and Racine. Further, Schiller's uncommonly perceptive rendition of *Phèdre*, undertaken shortly before his death as the last of his translations from the French, may be regarded as bespeaking a deeper affinity to what he more frequently felt called upon to attack than he would ever have been willing to admit. However unconscious on Schiller's part the process of assimilation may have been, it was at work; its indications are too numerous and telling to be overlooked as a vital constituent of his never-ending search for a happy synthesis, in his own dramas, of the classical French (plus Greek) and the Shakespearean mode of dramatic creation. The negative tenor of Schiller's commentary could indeed not deter Wieland—to single out the most illustrious contemporary critic—from accusing him of being guilty of some of the very faults that he scorned in the works of the French classicists. And Schiller's most vitriolic critic in the nineteenth century, Otto Ludwig, scathingly spoke of the "detrimental French influence" in Schiller's works.

With this constellation of facts and factors—here sketched in its barest minimum only—characterizing the picture of Schiller's relation to French classical tragedy, interested scholars understandably have tempered their approach and treatment with caution, especially toward the danger of undue influence chasing. On the other hand, the force of Schiller's largely unflattering pronouncements on the French was apt to engender some

less salutary results, as Bloch rightly points out, by stifling the incentive to come to a full recognition and genuine appreciation of the kinship between the German poet and the French classicists, e.g. uncritical acceptance of Schiller's theoretical judgments as valid guideposts to his own creative intents, dogmatic overrating of Schiller's achievements at the expense of the French, and deprecating those features in Schiller's plays that most forcibly reflect the French models, even though the deeper relationship governing the style of both was keenly recognized, as in the case of Hermann Schneider. But regardless of the degree of blemish in the perspective of earlier investigators, the subject could certainly not be said to have been neglected. Rather the opposite is true, in so far as a goodly number of Ph.D. candidates as well as seasoned scholars contributed to its elucidation. Nevertheless, one has good and ample reason to welcome Bloch's rather voluminous presentation, which is based on the dissertation he did under Walter Muschg at Basel.

Let it first be stated that after perusing this study one is sufficiently impressed by the competence and maturity displayed in it to understand readily why so relatively young a scholar as Bloch should enjoy the honor of being a collaborator on the prestigious Schiller-Nationalausgabe. This is not to suggest that one may not have a few slight misgivings, as for instance when faced with formulations that smack of glib clichés because of the lack of appropriate substantiation; such as Wieland's "Rokoko-Übersetzung" of Shakespeare or Schiller's "Hang zur französierend-tändelnden Rokokolyrik." But these weigh lightly in the highly meritorious overall picture and against such effective phrases as "tragisches Denken und satirischer Wille." Not only does Bloch ably synthesize the findings of the older

explorations into his subject, but he appreciably enhances our knowledge of it by broadening, deepening and refining its substance. Equally well versed in the French and German area encompassed by his study, and equipped with the fruitful guidelines provided by his mentor Muschg in form of his concept of *Dichtertypen* and its application to Schiller, Bloch manages to reach a high degree of that objectivity which he set out to attain. That signifies, of course, that his treatment is distinguished by a valuable corrective function, pointed at the same time at establishing a more accurate and thus unbiased picture of the manifestations of Schiller's spiritual kinship with French classical tragedy and the typological peculiarities of Schiller's poetic genius *per se*. The essential question is, in other words, that of a "geistige Wesensart" which transcends national boundaries and time, and its analogous manifestations in the works, but not through influence—which Bloch plays down.

It is eminently satisfying to watch Bloch develop his argument. He does it unobtrusively and convincingly within a rich, organically constructed pattern of pertinent materials, fortified with perceptive text analyses. Notwithstanding the modest designation "Versuch eines Vergleichs" in the foreword and the apology offered in the conclusion for a certain onesidedness and gaps in the coverage of additional relevant aspects, we are inclined to consider Bloch's study authoritative and comparative in the best sense of the word.

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Konrad Bieber

Proceedings of the Fourth Congress of the International Comparative Literature Association, Fribourg, 1964, edited by François Jost (The Hague, 1966, 2 vols., 1459 pp.).

These *Proceedings*, renewing the publishing feat of the Second Congress of the I.C.L.A. held at Chapel Hill, North Carolina, in 1958, give the complete papers as read at the Congress, thereby affording the reader a unique opportunity: to see reunited in two big volumes a wealth of erudite and informative material, almost impossible to come by without such a congress. The editor is to be commended on the high standards of presentation, and the publishers for a good and handsome set.

For the reviewer, however, the assignment is frustrating. Being unable to give a full account (which would be well warranted by the quality of the papers) he will have to offer an impressionistic response. Consequently the review may come dangerously close to the picture gathered by a casual convention-goer who, wisely, limits himself to the few lectures he can expect to absorb out of a wealth of simultaneously held sessions. Thus it should be understood that many excellent articles will go unmentioned, not because they lack substance or appeal, but simply because the necessarily rapid and severely limited glance of the observer failed to include them.

It goes without saying that the contributions of René Wellek, M. F. Guyard, Claude Pichois, Carlo Pellegrini, Lienhard Bergel, Jean Seznec, Odette de Mourges, and Zbigniew Folejewski—to name but a few among the impressive number of luminaries—are extremely valuable and, in some cases, genuine landmarks in the charting of the course for comparative literature. What may be less obvious is the unique opportunity to hear the voices of scholars from all over the world. Space permits mention of but a few of these highlights.

In a symposium as rich and as large as this one, a certain amount of overlap proves both inevitable and profitable. For even if the various categories into which the general themes of the Fri-

bourg congress were divided were sharply drawn, the actual treatment could not always remain confined to the specific topics. As a result, we get a rewarding and many-sided view of a great number of the most urgent problems confronting not only comparatists but students of literary history in general. As the editor's preface aptly states:

... two volumes of equal importance [are here presented]. Two principal themes were treated at the Fribourg congress: literary nationalism and cosmopolitanism and, on the other hand, definition and exemplification of terms pertaining to the notions of imagination, originality, and influence.

Perfect homogeneity of views could not, of course, be achieved, as the editor further points out, at a meeting where 174 specialists addressed themselves to the given problems. Papers were grouped, therefore, according to certain affinities, just as the program of the congress had attempted to achieve a certain organic unity.

The first volume is devoted to "Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism in literature." At the outset, René Etiemble argues: "Faut-il réviser la notion de *Weltliteratur*?" Etiemble wants the term of world literature to become more inclusive. In his opinion, there now still reigns an "abusive Europeo-centrism," an omission of most that is important in non-European literatures. But Etiemble also finds Japanese and Egyptian scholarly endeavors suffering from substantial blanks, notably in their neglect of Indian literature. He suggests systematic analyses of vast areas of literature, so as to make world literature worthy of its name.

While the first section of volume I is devoted to the theme of literary cosmopolitanism, the second one is reserved for "literary nationalism." Again, the division is clear and sharp, however, by the very nature of the subject, and owing

to the criteria inherent in comparative methods, the lines cannot be drawn quite so exactly. At the beginning of this section, T. Klaniczay (Budapest), in "Que faut-il entendre par littérature nationale?" outlines a definition of "national literature": neither linguistic nor geographic facts determine national literature, but rather a combination of historical and psychological factors.

Robert Escarpit considers "Les cadres de l'histoire littéraire." In evaluating categories of national writing, he refutes the language criterion, since, e.g., French is used by many different nationalities and writers of greatly varying national, geographic, and racial diversity. Kafka, also cited by T. Klaniczay, serves as an example of the impossibility of trying to establish a nationality for certain writers. Escarpit also warns us of imminent changes in the structure of the literary scene:

... il y a cent ans, six grandes littératures produisaient les neuf dixièmes des livres paraissant dans le monde. Il y a quinze ans, elles étaient dix qui en produisaient les trois quarts. Maintenant elles en produisent à peine plus de la moitié. Le moment n'est pas loin où l'essentiel nous échappera si nous nous en tenons à la fréquentation des membres de ce club fermé. Nous n'avons même plus la ressource d'ouvrir les portes du club à de nouveaux membres. Ce sont toutes nos habitudes qu'il faut changer.

It is perhaps significant that two Frenchmen sound such an alarm; just as Etiemble cautions against an exclusive attitude, favoring Western literature, at the expense of missing out on what the Orient has to contribute, so Escarpit wants us to get used to an ever-widening horizon of cultural exchange, with the inherent necessity of opening the minds of readers to newly discovered literatures, to "developing" cultures. Escarpit's formula deserves being stated because of its simple appeal:

Comme de remarque l'écrivain mexicain Octavio Paz, pour la première fois

'nous sommes contemporains de tous les hommes.' Contemporains au sens littéral du mot, c'est-à-dire que nous vivons en même temps que tous les hommes, non forcément au même rythme, mais présents au monde en même temps qu'eux et conscients de l'être. Depuis cent ans, et cela fait tout juste depuis la formation de la Première Internationale, les hommes ne cessent de découvrir les solidarités qui brisent le vieux cadre des nations.

Hugo Dyserinck, in "La pensée nationale chez les auteurs flamands d'expression française de la génération de 1880" disputes the fundamental validity of Taine's theory, driven to its extreme in racism, as regards the national characteristics of Flemish literature. Mr. Dyserinck points out Maeterlinck's and Verhaeren's revulsion before the ugly exaggerations of Flemish nationalism. Eekhoud was the only exception among Flemish writers to favor nationalism. To be sure, as the author reminds us, Maeterlinck as well as Verhaeren were expatriates, cosmopolitans, and the French-writing Flemish authors lived in isolation, realizing that the movement toward nationalism was irresistible.

A vigorous analysis by Wilfred G. O. Cartey demonstrates "The African Presence and Nationalism." Mr. Cartey shows the various strands in the renewed tradition of African poetry and prose. He points out that

. . . the myths, legends and proverbs which always formed the basis of traditional oral and vernacular literature now become abundant sources for modern African authors, who will thereby establish the continuum between the African past and present, and make evident the richness of Africa's heritage.

Hassan El Nouty, in "Les écrivains maghrébins d'expression française initiateurs ou déracinés" adds another powerful illustration to Mr. Escarpit's thesis. The French language has had different functions and effected different attitudes in Arab writers in a number of countries. El Nouty affirms certain North African authors declared that, far from

assimilating them, French culture had stimulated their thirst for freedom, for originality; one was able to be an Algerian nationalist and at the same time a French writer. Through local reality, one could reach universal pre-occupations, thanks to the ideal vehicle: French. Others were of the opinion that one had to resort to Arabic in order to express original thoughts, and quite a few expressed their regret not to be able to write in their own idiom, and actually voiced a cultural hatred—in French—over the lasting effects of colonialism. Mr. El Nouty outlines a goal for North African authors:

Non plus contrefaire l'Europe, mais élargir les horizons de sa civilisation, y infuser un sang nouveau, y répandre le génie de leur race et de leur culture et bâtir, si j'ose dire, une sorte de "Frankistan" littéraire.

"The impact of Cosmopolitanism and Nationalism on Comparative Literature" was one of the themes of the congress. Because of its vast proportions, the subject was divided between two speakers. J. C. Brandt Corstius tackles it from the beginnings to 1880, and Henry H. H. Remak from the 1880's to the post-World War II period. By the nature of the division of labors, Mr. Brandt Corstius is called upon to use both a theoretical and a practical approach, tracing the impact of cosmopolitanism and nationalism in literary works and in critical writings that are typical of the times. Similarly Mr. Remak attempts an historical and critical synthesis of wide scope. It is to be wished that these two essays, so rich in their different approaches, may be reunited some day as a guideline, much in the way Mr. Brandt Corstius' *Introduction to the Study of Comparative Literature*—quite different again in its method—presents the essentials of critical evaluation.

In its compact form, Hans Rheinfeld's "Nationalismus und Kosmopolitismus

in Nerk Dantes" is a lucid, cogent contribution to knowledge. It forcefully recalls the stature of the poet and draws a human parallel with kindred spirits: a beautiful and enriching essay that will long be remembered.

In "Perspectival Change of Literary Phenomena Viewed from a National or an International Angle," György Mihály Vajda (Budapest) gives an informative, graceful study of the comparative fortunes of some poets, once very popular in their time, such as Béranger or Gessner, as compared with others, worthy of notice, but less known, such as Endre Ady or János Arany.

In "Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism in Literature: Indian outlook," R. S. Mugali (Sangli, India) demonstrates that classical Indian literature did not know the concept of nation; therefore nationalism did not apply. Only due to colonial rule and the awakening of a national spirit during the nineteenth century was there an awareness, eventually leading to emancipation, of national spirit. The author shows how the various Indian literatures adopted Western literary genres, and today often use the vehicle of literature for the expression of national aspirations, while some of the greatest Indian writers always emphasized a universal humanist disposition.

Volume II deals with "Literary Terms and Notions: Imitation, Influence, Originality." The volume opens with a brilliant study by Bernard Weinberg, "L'imitation au XVI^e et XVII^e siècles," in which the author, among other striking observations, develops an excellent psychology of literary imitation. In "The Concept of Imitation in Modern Criticism," Haskell Block, showing imitation to be now esteemed, now despised, furnishes a thorough, forceful condensation of the subject from the seventeenth to the twentieth century. In "The Concepts of Originality and Imitation in Plato and Aristotle," Seymour

M. Pitcher (S.U.N.Y., Binghamton) proves that to Plato and Aristotle these concepts, as such, did not exist. Instead, both philosophers sought truth and beauty above all else. Alain Renoir, in "Originality, Influence, Imitation: Two Mediaeval Phases," quotes a strikingly similar situation in Shakespeare's *Henry V* and Alexandre Dumas' *Les Quarante-Cinq*, but discounts imitation, holding the similarity to be fortuitous. His approach, refreshingly unconventional, demands that influence be construed on more solid grounds. Manzoni, according to Olga Ragusa ("Imitation and Originality in Manzoni's Romantic Theory"), says that "as far as he had been able to ascertain, the Romantics condemned the imitation but not the study of the classics." The more one reads about the different interpretations of these concepts, particularly that of imitation, through the centuries, the more one realizes that absolute originality is hardly ever to be found and that the varying degrees of imitation—imitation first of nature, then of other writers—amount to a new kind of creativity where it becomes increasingly unimportant whether the artist "imitated," so long as he did not copy slavishly.

Ulrich Weisstein's contribution, "Parody, Travesty, and Burlesque: Imitation with a Vengeance," is written with a view towards definitions to be used in the projected *Dictionary of Literary Terms*. Mr. Weisstein, with great clarity, establishes the historical and critical value of the terms under examination. In precise language, Liviu Rusu (Cluj, Rumania) shows ("La Perspective de la Profondeur dans l'Etude des Influences littéraires et de l'Originalité illustrée par le rapport entre le Poète Eminescu et Schopenhauer") that while Eminescu's theoretical considerations are strongly influenced by Schopenhauer's pessimism, wherever he is at his original best and strongest in his poetry, he tends

to assert quite different values, nowhere near the negative views of his German philosophical model. When writing theoretically of women, for example, the Rumanian poet espouses Schopenhauer's haughty viewpoint; however, Eminescu's love poetry exalts the rôle of women, stating that "woman is called on to kindle the light of love on earth." Also, Rusu calls Eminescu's attitude toward Nature decisive, naming him one of the greatest bards of Nature. His love of Nature makes him a decided optimist. Thus, contrary to the superficial impression of Eminescu as a pessimist, he emerges as an enthusiastic poet.

In less than five pages—the long title of his essay notwithstanding—Mr. Rusu gives a clear-cut presentation of his case. Although not allotted much more space—ten pages—Ruth Gilg-Ludwig (Rapperswil, Zurich) seems to have considerable difficulty in encompassing her subject ("Medea und Phaedra, Semiramis und Kleopatra in ihrer literarischen Ueberlieferung"), within the framework of the symposium. While giving evidence of genuine archeological and historical erudition, the author does not, on occasion, avoid a sketchy treatment of certain authors (e.g. Anouilh's *Medea* gets a bit short-changed). The paper suffers from the enforced limitation. Its scope calls for book-length treatment, amply warranted by the wealth of material, and Gilg-Ludwig's obviously profound familiarity with little-known subject matter. Indeed, in view of the striking points relating, e.g., the historical to the literary Semiramis, it is all the more surprising to note the large number of German Cleopatra variations mentioned in the essay and the absence of any reference to Jodelle, Crébillon, Voltaire, to name only a few.

Many of the finest contributions have to go unmentioned in this cursory review. The two volumes of the *Proceedings* are a must for every library, because they

contain a rare combination of studies more often than not distinct from one another in closely related fields. Not only the comparatist, but the general reader as well will find this an invaluable compendium, or rather a handbook of Comparative Literature. At the same time, as is well illustrated by the last section of volume II, "Far Eastern Literatures and their Relation to Western Literatures," there is a unifying spirit that pervades these pages.

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André Reszler

François Jost, *Essais de Littérature comparée*. II. *Europeana*. Première série. (Fribourg-Urbana: Editions Universitaires—University of Illinois Press, 1968, 430 pp.).

Each of the four long essays of this volume has been written with the aim of illustrating one of the main approaches to the discipline of Comparative Literature: "Thomas à Becket" is the study of a theme; "Le roman épistolaire," that of a "faux genre"; "La leçon d'un mot" stands for the study of movements and tendencies; and "Jalons d'une découverte" reaffirms faith in the classical analyses of literary relationships.

François Jost's fascination with literary techniques may well be the dominant feature of the volume: the analysis of the novelist's method is a key to the understanding of the work itself, a revelation of its inner significance. This fascination is perhaps most evident in the second essay, "Le roman épistolaire." The epistolary technique, often and erroneously considered as a genre, appears in these pages as an agent of cultural change, as an invitation to the writer to bring literary reality into closer touch with human reality. By its virtue, it tends to substitute "un certain art d'observer" for "un certain art d'imag-

iner" and can thus be considered as a gateway to modernity.

The opening monograph, "Thomas à Becket," is the study of a theme. It is also an investigation into the nature of historical fiction and into the problems of literary creation. The four works analyzed in detail—*Thomas, a Novel of the Life, Passion, and Miracles of Becket*, by Shelley Mydans; *Der Heilige*, by the Swiss Conrad-Ferdinand Meyer; *Becket, ou l'honneur de Dieu*, by Jean Anouilh; and *Murder in the Cathedral*, by T. S. Eliot—have in common a theme, and more remotely, the largely contemporaneous rise of the historical novel and of historicism. The theme is embedded in history and has been shaped by many a myth. The four works, consequently, bear the burden of history. ("L'auteur d'un drame historique, d'un roman historique, doit assumer une hypothèque, l'histoire." p. 54). History, and in a still more binding way, myth and legend, circumscribe the artistic freedom of the poet. Jost establishes the unwritten code of the writer of historical fiction and judges the value of his literary work by his faithfulness to the laws and rules of conduct of the genre.

But what is the "hypothèque" of history and what constitutes the freedom of the artist? First of all, the artist must create an atmosphere, evoke faithfully the age and reconstitute "un état précis de civilisation, un stade bien défini de l'évolution sociale, politique, culturelle." (p. 17) His creative power is "circonscrite dans un domaine déterminé par certains faits précis. Le poète ne saurait à son gré jeter son leste, les données de l'histoire, qui le lient à une certaine époque et à certains faits." The thread of the novel, of the drama, must fit into the chronological cadre given by tradition. Time lags between the events of the work of fiction and recorded events, as well as the accumulation of anachronisms, must be care-

fully avoided. The novelist does not "create" the story, but "re-creates" past figures and events: "Dès lors, au lieu de créer, ici il s'agit de recréer. Loin d'imaginer un héros, il faut le modeler sur l'image que les temps ont fixée." (p. 84)

The artist's freedom consists in his capacity to organize the historical material in view of esthetic or dramatic effects. He can choose his accents and establish counterpoints. He can also discover in the structure defined by facts and by the character of historical figures "un motif, un ressort essentiel de la trame, conférant ainsi à une destinée particulière une valeur de symbole. . . . Ces motifs et ces thèmes, qui pourraient fausser la perspective de l'historien, guident et rectifient à tout instant celle du poète, du romancier dont l'oeuvre, en ce sens, doit dépasser l'histoire." (p. 85)

Starting with the same material, the same documentary evidence, Shelley Mydans writes an historical novel, and Meyer, a "fictionalized" historical short story ("une nouvelle historique romancée"). Anouilh creates a historical drama, and Eliot, a mystery play ("ein geistliches Spiel"). As it allows for various genres, a "theme"—or historical fiction—allows for an astonishing divergence of motives. A political-religious conflict dominates Shelley Mydans' broad historical fresco, while the theme of vengeance and of blood fatality takes precedence in the carefully chiseled portrait by Meyer. Anouilh's drama is organized around the motive of broken friendship; the concern of Eliot's play is the "fatality of theology."

Respect, or disrespect, for the laws of historical fiction leads Jost to clear and soundly balanced value judgments. Much credit is given to Shelley Mydans for her meticulous evocation of the atmosphere of the age in her *Thomas*. Meyer, who projects the torments of his personality into the psychological void

of the half-historical, half-mythical figure of Becket, saves his work only by creating a figure, the logic of whose character fits into the logic of the twelfth century ("une figure historique virtuelle"). Poor in historical detail, *Murder in the Cathedral* is based on a thorough familiarity with the relevant chapter of British history: its understanding presupposes the reader's knowledge of historical facts. Much of the failure of the French dramatist comes from his disrespect for historical evolution and the succession of cultures: "Anouilh environne l'action d'un climat spirituel, intellectuel ou social étranger au temps d'Henri Plantagenet, impropre aussi au thème même qu'il veut traiter." (p. 57) "Anouilh plaça des personnages historiques en dehors de l'histoire. Il suppose chez les spectateurs l'ignorance, exige de lui l'oubli." (p. 51) The irritating accumulation of anachronisms deals the last, and perhaps fatal, blow to *Becket, ou l'honneur de Dieu*.

François Jost does not build up a theory of historical fiction, but his numerous remarks scattered throughout the essay form the nucleus of a solid doctrine. He proves, in a convincing manner, that the writer's attempt to fill in the void, the ontological emptiness in tradition—history or myth—can succeed only if he submits himself to the existing structures. A "joyous" assumption of the burden of history will establish a harmonious balance between the acts of "creation" and of "re-creation."

The Epilogue, entitled "La littérature comparée, une philosophie des lettres," explains the inner motivation of the essays. Considered as a fight against the "spécialisation à outrance" of contemporary literary studies, comparative literature is also an "antidote . . . des nationalismes . . . sur le plan culturel . . ." (p. 317). It tends toward a revaluation—in reality, a devaluation—of national literatures and, by making a

maximum use of its freedom, toward the creation of an authentic philosophy of literature "valuable pour l'humanité entière." Jost's motto is, in effect: "N'être liée, ni bornée, ni retenue." (p. 318)

Although François Jost joins René Wellek and Henry Remak in their broad definitions of *comparatisme*, the essays themselves constitute a mediation between the French and the American schools of comparative literature. Taking his leave from the cradle of the discipline, and casting his eyes upon the New Continent of unlimited freedom, Jost seems to have composed these essays on board a fast-moving steamer, somewhere between Cherbourg and New York, faithful, after all, only to himself.

Indiana University

Ronald T. Swigger

Comparatists at Work: Studies in Comparative Literature, ed. Stephen G. Nichols, Jr., and Richard B. Vowles (Waltham, Mass.: Blaisdell, 1968, 246 pp.).

The editors' aim in compiling this "ampler" was to indicate the "broad range of questions actively being explored by some of the leading scholars in the field." The essays deal with the variety of topics indicated by the editors' introductory description of comparative literature as a discipline concerned with literary criticism, literary theory, and literary history, the "interaction of literature and the other arts," and with "the role of literature in the development of the great ideas that have motivated societies and individuals throughout history" (p. v).

The first of the ten essays in the anthology is, appropriately, René Wellek's "The Name and Nature of Comparative Literature." After dealing with the lexicographical history of the terms "comparative," "literature," and "com-

parative literature," and their analogues in other languages, the author once again explains his dissatisfaction with various definitions of "comparative literature." Wellek has continually emphasized the crucial importance of the "spirit and perspective" associated with comparative literature rather than any special "comparative" methodology. Here he reiterates his view that the discipline will flourish "only if it shakes off artificial limitations and becomes simply the study of literature" (p. 13). The perspective he advocates is, of course, an international one; the "spirit" involves that "consciousness of the unity of all literary creation and experience" (p. 13) which has characterized the best of comparative literature. In the second half of the essay Wellek gives a brief account of the history of comparative studies, which he concludes by once more calling for the rejection of "factualism" in favor of "true criticism" (p. 22). The essay is a concise and useful survey of some of the history of comparative literature, and it is of special value for its succinct reaffirmation of Wellek's ideals and standards of literary study.

Wellek's views are complemented by other essays in the anthology which deal with critical theory and the history of comparative studies. Harry Levin eloquently defends comparative literature in his contribution, "Shakespeare in the Light of Comparative Literature." Levin's essay provides a cross-section of comparative literature by considering some of the subjects comparatists are concerned with: structure and genre, sources, themes, influence, translations, and "refractions." Levin defends "relevant comparison" as an "instrument of analysis" and a possible criterion of evaluation (p. 199), and he emphasizes the importance of studying the interrelationships with which comparative literature is concerned. Haskell Block's

essay, "The Alleged Parallel of Metaphysical and Symbolist Poetry," shows that comparison as a method of evaluation can lead to misunderstanding, when important differences are obscured in order to demonstrate similarities. The case he describes is an instructive one.

The longest essay in the collection, "On the Concept and Metaphor of Perspective," by Claudio Guillén, analyzes the history and significance of a concept which is certainly important for comparative literature. Guillén's interest in perspective and perspectivism is based on the proposals of Wellek and Warren's *Theory of Literature* and the ideas of Ortega y Gasset. Ranging through painting, science, philosophy, literature, and literary theory, Guillén explains the ways in which metaphors related to the concept of perspective have been used in the past and suggests possibilities for the proper understanding of the implications and ramifications of perspectivism in modern art and aesthetics.

Other articles indicate further areas of comparative studies. Jean Hagstrum's article, "The Sister Arts: From Neoclassic to Romantic," shows some of the relationships which can be discerned between romantic poetry and eighteenth century painting. (This article and Guillén's are well illustrated.) An example of work in the history of ideas is provided by Wolfgang Fleischmann's "Christ and Epicurus," a study of Renaissance attitudes to Epicureanism. Joseph Szili has contributed a useful survey, "Recent Trends of Marxist Criticism in the Countries of Eastern Europe," but comparative literature activities are dealt with only briefly.

There are three essays on the novel, though only one is indicative of the international perspective which distinguishes comparative literature. George Gibian proposes extending his examination of "The Forms of Discontent in Dostoevsky and Tolstoy" to include Bal-

zac and Flaubert, but his essay is confined to the two Russians. Neal Oxenhandler's defense of Balzac, "Character and Emotion in Balzac's Novels," is carried out completely within the framework of French literary history and criticism. These two essays, though excellent in themselves, seem slightly out of place in this collection. Theodore Ziolkowski's speculative essay, "The Crisis of the Thirty-Year-Old in Modern Fiction: Toward a Phenomenology of the Novel," describes, with appropriate reservations but in a lively manner, a "characteristic structure" to be found in novels by Rilke, Kafka, Sartre, Bernanos, Grass, and others.

It would be difficult to represent all of the current types of activity in comparative literature in an anthology; for example, this one scarcely mentions Oriental literature. On the whole, though, this anthology is an excellent one, and will be useful to readers new to comparative literature, while those already familiar with the challenges of the discipline will appreciate its theoretical essays.

University of Maryland

BOOKS RECEIVED

American Civilization: An Introduction, ed. A. N. J. den Hollander and Sigmund Skard (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1968). The outcome of a project sponsored by the European Association for American Studies and supported by the American Council for Learned Studies. It comprises seventeen articles, most of which are by European scholars, specifically written to present European readers with a lively and coherent introduction to modern American civilization. The contributors describe the political, social and economic structure of the USA and cover all aspects of American culture and the much debated "American way of life."

Anna Balakian. *The Symbolist Movement* (New York: Random House, 1967). This study offers a provocative appraisal of Symbolism from its origins in French literature to its influence on the literature of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Europe. A succinct guide to the study of Symbolism from the comparativist point of view, it traces the development of Symbolism as a style and as a universally acclaimed poetic position in literature.

Marcia L. Colish. *The Mirror of Language: A Study in the Medieval Theory of Knowledge* (New Haven: Yale U. P., 1968.) This is the first interpretation to root medieval symbolism in a verbal theory of signs derived from Biblical and classical sources. The emphasis on words as the principal medium of religious knowledge was a consequence of the stress which theology laid on Christ the Word as mediator between God and man. The author supports her argument by tracing the development of sign theory from its initial formulation in the mode of rhetoric by Augustine, through its association with grammar and dialectic in Anselm and Aquinas, to its ultimate reintegration with rhetoric in the poetic theory and practice of Dante.

John Philip Couch. *George Eliot in France* (Chapel Hill: U. of North Carolina P., 1967). In most histories of French literature George Eliot usually rates no more than one or two lines linking her to Brunetière and the anti-Naturalist polemics of the 1880's. In reality, the situation was very different. Among her admirers, either at that time or much later, one may count some of France's most talented writers and thinkers; when their names are assembled in one list, the proof is impressive that George Eliot's prestige in France has been more important than

most critics would have us believe. This book goes a long way to correct the balance.

Mai I. Gerhardt. *Old Men of the Sea* (Amsterdam: Polak & Van Gennep, 1967). This study traces the survival of those humble divinities whom the Greeks designated, collectively, as "the Old Men of the Sea"—Proteus the shape-shifter, Nereus the soothsayer, and their kin—and who, as water-spirits, haunted the inland rivers and springs. After the ruin of the Greco-Roman pantheon, they persisted in medieval belief as *neptuni*; in old French texts, they crop up as *nuitons* or *luitons*, supernatural (water-) creatures, benevolent or demonic as the case may be.

Jahrbuch der Deutschen Schillergesellschaft, Band XII, eds. Fritz Martini, Walter Müller-Seidel, and Bernhard Zeller (Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner Verlag, 1968). This volume is a collection of German literary and critical essays from Goethe to Brecht, and includes previously unpublished material from Schlegel, Dehmel, Lotz, and Kafka. The collection also offers other articles on Schiller, Goethe, Klopstock, Lessing, Fontane, Benn, Brecht, etc.

Joseph and Potiphar's Wife, ed. John D. Yohannan (New York: New Directions, 1968). The selections in this anthology are all part of the "Joseph-Phaedra Legend." Examples can be traced from ancient Egypt of 1400 B. C. to modern Europe—from pagan, Judaic, Christian, Moslem, and Buddhist civilizations. In all these literatures there are traditional tales of the Lustful Stepmother who propositions a Chaste Youth. This challenge of desire and morality has occurred in a broad range of cultures and times. Reactions, of course, vary according to the moral climate of the time and the religions of the main characters.

W. Lamarr Kopp. *German Literature in The United States 1945-1960* (Chapel Hill: U. of North Carolina P., 1967). Vol. III of *Anglo-German and American-German Crosscurrents*, ed. Philip A. Shelley and Arthur O. Lewis, Jr. This work represents a departure from the plan of the preceding volumes in the series in that instead of being a collection of studies by several authors it is a unified work of a single individual. Like its predecessors, however, it is a product of the Penn State Project of Anglo-German and American-German Literary and Cultural Relations.

Yvonne Rodax. *The Real and the Ideal in the Novella of Italy, France, and England* (Chapel Hill: U. of North Carolina P., 1968). This work considers four centuries of change in the Boccaccian tale beginning with the world of Chaucer. The criteria of comparison are qualitative and the beginning of the changes in the novella can be clearly seen in Boccaccio.

Nancy Wilson Ross. *Three Ways of Asian Wisdom* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1968). This paperback provides a clear, undistorted, and interesting introduction to Oriental philosophy for the reasonably intelligent reader who has no previous knowledge of the subject. It covers Hinduism, Buddhism, and Zen and their significance for the West.

Elida Maria Szarota. *Künstler, Grübler und Rebellen* (Bern: Francke Verlag, 1967). This book treats the *Märtyrer-dramen* of such writers as Eidermann, Lope de Vega, Calderón, Corneille and Vondel, Gryphius and Lohenstein. The author treats one of the most famous but least studied forms of the drama of the 17th century. The comparative approach is used to reveal the different characterizations of the martyr, a category Szarota divides into three basic

variations: artists, complainers and rebels.

Józef Waldapfel. *À Travers Siècles et Frontières* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1968). The reader is invited on a voyage across centuries and frontiers

of European literature with the emphasis on Hungarian literature and comparative literature. The most striking problems of five centuries of Hungarian literature are represented in these seventeen studies.

Gerhard H. W. Zuther, editor

LIST OF TRANSLATIONS: 1968

This bibliography lists American translations of foreign literature. It also includes translations issued for the first time in the United States, all newly collected, revised or enlarged editions of former translations, and reprints which appeared in a new publishing series. Entries marked with an asterisk (*) are reprints. Original titles are given only where they differ significantly from the title of the translation; if a volume contains six or fewer individual titles, these are also listed. Place of publication has been omitted for all items published in New York or by a university press. Except for novels, a genre classification is given. The index is divided into sections alphabetically by language of origin, followed by a category of "Other Languages" under which single entries of minor languages are listed, and finally by "International Collections." Within each language, general anthologies are listed at the end of the section.

In 1968 a total of 447 translations were located; this registers a slight increase over the preceding year. The number of translations from the French increased, German remained exactly the same, and Russian decreased slightly. The sum entries for 1968 are: Armenian,

2; Chinese, 7; Czech, 4; Danish, 4; English, 5; French, 132; Greek, 20; Hebrew, 11; Icelandic, 2; Italian, 26; Japanese, 10; Latin, 11; Lithuanian, 2; Norwegian, 4; Persian, 2; Polish, 7; Portuguese, 4; Russian, 39; Sanskrit, 5; Spanish, 32; Swedish, 10; Yiddish, 6; Other Languages, 16; International Collections, 33.

Armenian

The Armenian Folk Epic in our Cycles. Tr. Artin K. Shalian. Ohio U. P. 10.50.
Apples of Immortality. Comp. Leon Surmelian. U. of California P. 7.95. Folk tales.

Chinese

*Chin P'ing Mei. *The Adventurous History of Hsi Men and His Six Wives.* Ed. Arthur Waley. G. P. Putnam. 3.45.
 Chin, Tsao Hsueh. *The Dream of the Red Chamber.* Tr. Florence and Isabel McHugh. Universal Library. 3.45.
 Mao, Tse-tung. *Ten More Poems of Mao Tse-tung.* San Francisco: China Periodicals. 1.25. Bilingual.
 *Shih, Ching. *The Book of Poetry.* Tr. James Legge. Paragon. 10.00. Bilingual.
 Wang, Shih-fu. *The Romance of the Western Chamber.* Tr. S. I. Hsiung. Columbia U. P. 10.00. 2.75.
One Hundred and One Chinese Poems. Tr., ed. Shih Shun Liu. Oxford U. P. 5.00. Bilingual.
 **Poems of the Hundred Names.* Tr. Henry H. Hart. Greenwood. 9.50.

Czech

Capek, Karel. *War With the Newts.* G. P. Putnam. 0.75.

Fuks, Ladislav. *Mr. Theodore Mundstock*. Tr. Iris Urwin. Orion. 4.95.
 Havel, Vaclav. *The Memorandum*. Tr. Vera Blackwell. Grove. 1.50.
 Hrabal, Bohumil. *Closely Watched Trains*. Tr. Edith Pargeter. Grove. 0.95.

Danish

Kristensen, Tom. *Havoc*. Tr. Carl Malmberg. Wisconsin U. P. 6.95.
 *Panduro, Leif. *One of Our Millionaires Is Missing*. Tr. Carl Malmberg. Grove. 0.95.
 *Petersen, Bine Strange. *Anything Goes*. Tr. Hallberg Hallmundsson. Grove. 0.95.
The Medieval Popular Ballad. Tr. Edward Godfrey Cox. Ed. Johannes Steenstrup. U. of Washington P. 2.95.

English

Beowulf. Tr. Kevin Crossley-Holland. Farrar. 5.95. 1.95.
The Chief Middle English Poets. Tr., ed. Jessie L. Weston. Phaeton. 8.50.
From Age to Age. Ed. Bernice Grohskopf. Atheneum. 5.95. Poems and Prose from Old English.
Old English Poetry. Tr. John D. E. Spaeth. Gordian. 7.50. Verse Translation.
The Pearl. Tr. Sara deFord. Appleton. 0.50.
 Poem. Verse Translation.

French

Accoce, Pierre and Pierre Quet. *A Man Called Lucy*. Berkley. 0.95.
 Apollinaire, Guillaume. *The Poet Assassinated*. Tr. Ron Padgett. Holt. 9.95.
 Arley, Catherine. *A Matter of Opportunity*. Tr. Lowell Bair. Putnam. 4.50.
 Bataille, Michael. *City of Fools*. Tr. Arthur Train, Jr. Crown. 5.95.
 Beauvois, Simone de. *Les belles Images*. Tr. Patrick O'Brian. Putnam. 4.95.
 Berg, Pierre. *Sonia by Night*. Tr. André Gilbert. N. Hollywood, Calif.: Brandon House. 1.75.
 Bergonzo, Jean Louis. *The Spanish Inn*. Tr. Helen R. Lane. Grove. 3.95.
 Beyle, Marie Henri (i.e. Stendhal). *The Charterhouse of Parma*. Tr. Margaret R. B. Shaw. Baltimore: Penguin. 1.95.
 _____. *The Life of Henry Brulard*. Tr. Jean Steward, B.C.J.G. Knight. Funk & Wagnalls. 6.95. 2.50.
 Blais, Marie-Claire. *A Season in the Life of Emmanuel*. Tr. Derek Colman. Grosset & Dunlap. 3.45. Romance.
 *Boileau, Pierre. *Choice Cuts (Et mon Tou est un homme)*. Tr. Brian Rawson. Bantam. 0.75.
 Bonnefoy, Yves. *On the Motion and Immobility of Dovee*. Tr. Galway Kinnell. Ohio U. P. 5.50. Poems. Bilingual.
 Borel, Jacques. *The Bond (L'Adoration)*. Tr. Norman Denny. Doubleday. 6.95.
 Boule, Pierre. *The Photographer*. Tr. Xan Fielding. Vanguard. 4.95.
 Cabanis, José. *The Battle of Toulouse*. Tr. Herma Briffault. Coward-McCann. 4.00.
 Casanova de Seingalt, Giacomo. *History of My Life*, vols. 5 & 6. Tr. Willard R. Trask. Harcourt Brace. 7.50.

_____. *The Memoirs of Casanova*. Tr. Lowell Bair. Bantam. 1.25. Abridged.
 Celine, Louis-Ferdinand. *Castle to Castle*. Tr. R. Manheim. Delacorte. 6.95.
 Cendrars, Blaise. *To the End of the World*. Tr. Alan Brown. Grove. 5.00.
 Charles-Roux, Edmonde. *To Forget Palermo*. Tr. H. Eustis. Delacorte. 5.95.
 Chateaubriand, Francois-René de. *Atala and René*. Tr. Irving Putter. U. of California P. 1.85.
 Chrétien de Troyes. *Ywain: The Knight of the Lion*. Tr. Robert W. Ackermann, Frederick W. Locke. Ungar. 0.80.
 Couteaux, André. *My Father's Keeper (L'Enfant à femmes)*. Tr. Barbara Wright. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 4.95.
 *Daumal, René. *Mount Analogue*. Tr. Roger Shattuck. San Francisco: City Light. 2.00.
 Debray, Regis. *The Border and A Young Man in the Know*. Tr. Helen R. Lang. Grove 1.45.
 Diderot, Denis. *The Nun*. Tr. Eileen B. Hennessy. Los Angeles: Holloway House. 1.25.
 Dubillard, Roland. *Naïves Hirondelles*. Tr. Mel Howard. Grove. 1.50.
 *Dumas, Alexandre. *The Count of Monte Cristo*. Airmont. 0.95.
 _____. *The Count of Monte Cristo*. Platt and Munk 2.95.
 _____. *The Man in the Iron Mask*. Airmont. 0.75.
 Dumitriu, Petru. *The Sardinian Smile*. Tr. Peter Green. Holt. 4.50.
 Dumoulin, Edmond. *The Cult of Pain*. Tr. Paul Anhalt. Hollywood, Calif.: Brandon House. 1.75.
 Duras, Marguerite. *L'Amante anglaise*. Tr. Barbara Bray. Grove. 3.95.
 Escarpit, Robert. *Open Letter to God*. Tr. Joseph M. Bernstein. Heineman. 2.25.
 *Flaubert, Gustave. *November*. Tr. Frank Jellinek. Pocket Books. 0.95.
 _____. *Salomé*. Tr. E. Powys Mathew. G. P. Putnam. 0.75.
 *Forest, Jean-Claude. *Barbarella*. Tr. Richard Seaver. Grove. 1.50.
 Gabrielli, Ange. *Dames People Play*. Tr. Lowell Bair. Berkley. 0.75.
 _____. *Make My Bed for Three*. Tr. Lowell Bair. Berkley. 0.75.
 Gary, Romain. *The Dance of Genghis Cohn*. Tr. Romain Gary, with the assistance of Camilla Sykes. Cleveland: World. 5.00.
 *Genet, Jean. *Miracle of the Rose*. Tr. Bernard Frechtman. Grove. 1.25.
 Gheorghiu, Constantin. *The Death of Kyralessa*. Tr. Marika Mihalyi. Chicago: Regnery. 5.95.
 Giraudoux, Jean. *Judith*. Tr. Christopher Fry. Dramatists Play Service. 1.25.
 Golon, Anne. *The Countess Angélique*. Tr. Marguerite Barnett. Putnam. 6.95.
 Grout, Benoîte. *Feminine Plural*. Tr. Walter B. Michaels, June Wilson. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice Hall. 5.95.
 Guillevic, Eugene. *Guillevic*. Tr. Teo Savory. Santa Barbara, Calif.: Unicorn 3.00, 1.25. Poems.
 *Hugo, Victor Marie. *The Hunchback of Notre Dame*. Airmont. 0.75.
 _____. *Les Misérables*. Ed. James K. Robinson. Fawcett. 0.75. Abridged.
 _____. *The Man Who Laughs*. NBI Press. 5.95.

- Ionesco, Eugène. *A Stroll in the Air; Frenzy for Two, or More.* Tr. Donald Watson. Grove. 3.95. 1.95.
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- *Leduc, Violette. *The Woman with the Little Fox.* Tr. Derek Coltman. Dell. 0.75. Includes "The Old Maid and the Dead Man," "The Golden Buttons."
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- _____. *Selected Poems.* Tr. C. F. MacIntyre. U. of California P. 3.50, 1.50. Bilingual.
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- Oyono, Ferdinand. *Houseboy.* Tr. John Reed. Humanities. 1.00.
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- Quoirez, François. *The Heart-Keeper.* Tr. Robert Westhoff. Dutton.
- Racine, Jean Baptiste. *Andromache, Britannicus, Berenice.* Tr. John Cairncross. Baltimore: Penguin. 1.45.
- _____. *The Best Plays of Racine.* Tr. Lacy Lockert. Princeton U. P. 2.95.
- _____. *Complete Plays.* Tr. Samuel Solomon. Random House. set. 20.00. Verse Translation.
- Ramuz, Charles Ferdinand. *Terror on the Mountain.* Tr. Milton Stansbury. Harcourt Brace. 4.50.
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- Rousseau, Jean Jacques. *La Nouvelle Héloïse.* Tr. Judith H. McDowell. Pennsylvania State U. P. 8.95.
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German

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- *Grimmelshausen, Hans Jacob Christoffel von. *Courage, The Adventures, & The False Messiah*. Princeton U. P. 2.95.
- Grosse, Karl Friedrich. *Horrid Mysteries*. Tr. Peter Will. Chester Springs, Pa.: Dufour. Part of a seven-volume set. 65.00.
- *Grosser, Karlheinz. *Tamburas*. Tr. Kathleen Szasz. Dell. 0.95.
- *Habe, Hans. *Christopher and His Father*. Tr. Michael Bullock. Popular Library. 0.95.
- Heine, Heinrich. *Selected Verse*. Tr., ed. Peter Branscombe. Baltimore: Penguin. 1.95. Bilingual.
- Herburger, Gunter. *A Monotonous Landscape*. Tr. Geoffrey Skelton. Harcourt Brace. 4.95. Seven Stories.
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- Hofmann, Gert. *The Burgomaster*. Tr. Donald Watson in collaboration with the author. Grove. 1.50.
- *Kafka, Franz. *The Metamorphosis*. Tr. Willa and Edwin Muir. Schocken. 4.50, 1.95.
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- *Schiller, Friedrich von. "The Bride of Messina"; "William Tell." Tr. Charles E. Passage. Ungar. 1.95.

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 Weiss, Peter. *Exile (Fluchtpunkt)*. Tr. E. B. Garside. Alastair Hamilton, Christopher Levenson. Delacorte. 5.95.
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- The Origin of Life and Death: A Collection of Creation Myths from Africa*. Ed. Ulli Beier. Humanities. 1.00.
- Out of the Earth I Sing; Poetry and Songs of Primitive Peoples of the World*. Comp. Richard Lewis. Norton. 3.95.
- Plays by Four Tragedians*. Ed. Louis Glorfeld, Tom E. Kakonis, James C. Wilcox. Columbus, Ohio: Merrill. 4.50. Eight plays.
- **Studies in Drama*. 2nd ed. Ed. Blaze Odell Bonazzara Harper. 4.95. Twelve plays.
- Ten Great One Act Plays*. Comp. Morris Sweetkind. Bantam. 0.75.
- Times Four: The Short Story in Depth*. Ed. Donald S. Heines. Prentice Hall. 3.95.
- Tragedy and Comedy*. Comp. Sylvan Barnet. Boston: Little Brown. 4.50. Nine plays.
- Tragedy, History and Romance*. Comp. John Gassner, Morris Sweetkind. Holt. 3.40. Includes "Oedipus the King," by Sophocles "Cyrano de Bergerac," by E. Rostand.
- Various Fables from Various Places*. Ed. Diane Di Prima. G. P. Putnam. 1.15.
- The World's Love Poetry*. Ed. Michael Rheta Martin. Bantam. 1.25.

ANNUAL BIBLIOGRAPHY: 1968

In the introduction to the Annual Bibliography for 1967, we announced that we were about to enter a transitional phase, pending completion of the reorganization planned by the *PMLA* bibliographers. Indeed, by arrangement with Professor Meserole, all entries in the list that follows have been culled from the *MLA International Bibliographies* for 1967 and 1968. Our bibliographical committee having been dissolved, no additional material has been collected, and our only contribution was the selection of relevant entries and their rearrangement according to the principles stated in volume X of our *Yearbook* and reprinted annually thereafter. This time, we wish to thank Mr. Michael Moriarty and Mrs. Hilda Yoder for having assisted in that task.

I. COMPARATIVE, WORLD AND GENERAL LITERATURE

This section corresponds to Book One, Part One of Baldensperger/Friederich (B/F).

II. TRANSLATIONS, TRANSLATORS, CORRESPONDENTS, TRAVELERS, AND OTHER INTERMEDIARIES

This section corresponds to Book One, Part Four of B/F. It consists of two parts, first dealing with general articles on translation and the second with articles devoted to individual translators.

III. THEMES, MOTIFS, AND TOPOI

This section corresponds to Book One, Part Six of B/F.

IV. LITERARY GENRES, TYPES, FORMS, AND TECHNIQUES

This section corresponds to Book One, Part Seven of B/F.

V. EPOCHS, CURRENTS, PERIODS AND MOVEMENTS

This section corresponds to Book Three, Part Two of B/F.

VI. BIBLE AND CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY; LARGER GEOGRAPHICAL AND LINGUISTIC UNITS

This section consists of three subdivisions. It roughly corresponds to Book Two, Parts Two to Five, and Book Three, Part Three of B/F.

VII. INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES

VIII. INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS

See *Yearbook X* (1960) for a general statement concerning the organization of the bibliography. The abbreviations are identical with those used in the annual *PMLA* bibliography.

But note the following abbreviations (see also the abbreviations listed in the preceding volumes of the *Yearbook*):

AC: *American Contributions to the Fifth International Congress of Slavists. Sofia, September 1963.* Den Haag: Mouton, 1963.

APvL: Aktuelle Probleme der vergleichenden Literaturforschung, ed. G. Ziegengeist Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.

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VI : Bible and Classical Antiquity; Larger Geographical and Linguistic Units

See also: Asturias, Baggesen, Balzac, Blake, Boccaccio, Brecht, Bredero, Bremensko, Camus, Cervantes, Chapman, Chaucer, Chocavo, Chi-tang, Claudel, Clemens, Corneille, D'Alembert, D'Annunzio, Dante, D'Argental, De Dottoris, Diderot, Döblin, Dryden, DuBellay, Enckell, Gabiro, Gaminet, Garnier, Gobineau, Goethe, Golding, Gower, Gryphius, Hafiz, Hamann, Heine, Hölderlin, Hroswitha, Iqbal, Johnson, Joyce, Kafka, Kantemir, Keats, La Fontaine, Lamartine, Larbaud, Malherbe, Marana, Marvell, Mérimée, Mickiewicz, Milton, Montaigne, Montagu, O'Neill, Poe, Pope, Powys, Quevedo, Rabelais, Racine, Ramuz, Renan, Renou, Schiller, Schlegel, Shakespeare, Shelley, Soseko, Strindberg, Swift, Tagore, Thoreau, Voltaire, Whitman, Xavier, Yeats, Zola.

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VII : Individual Countries

- See also: Dante, Shakespeare (Argentina); Pirandello (Belgium); Marinetti, Pirandello, Shakespeare (Brazil); Boccaccio, Gorky, Pirandello (Bulgaria); Maurici (Canada); Franklin (Chile); Apollinaire, Boccaccio, Buck, Malraux, O'Neill, Péguy, Pound (China); Alain de Lille, Breton, Goldoni, Heyse, Morris, Pirandello, Shakespeare, Unamuno (Czechoslovakia); Carrel (Denmark); Balzac, Baroja, Baudelaire, Beaumarchais, Brecht, Cervantes, Chevrillon, Claudel, Croce, Dante, Du Bartas, Erasmus, Farkas, George, Goldoni, Gonzaga, Heinrich, Hölderlin, Horace, Majakowsky, Molière, Pascal, Petrarch, Pirandello, Pound, Rabelais, Saint-Exupéry, Sartre, Seneca, Stendhal, Teocritus, Voltaire, Williams, Zamiatin, Zola (England); Shakespeare (Finland); Ady, Agudiez, Albee, Beecher-Stowe, Brecht, Butor, Cardan, Carillo, Cervantes, Chaucer, Chekhov, Conrad, Croce, D'Annunzio, Dante, Dario, Dostoevsky, Eliot, Goethe, Heine, Ibáñez, Jacobsen, James, Johnson, Jókai, Joyce, Jünger, Kierkegaard, Litvinov, Marinetti, Milton, Petrarch, Pica, Pirandello, Schiller, Schlegel, Shakespeare, Sophocles, Storm, Strindberg, Thomas, Turgenev, Unamuno, Urueta, Verga, Whitman, Zweig (France); Claudel, Croce, Dante, De Forest, Dostoevsky, Baldovík, Gorky, Homer, Hrosvitha, Ibsen, Iwaszkiewicz, Joyce, Kasprzyk, Lomonosov, Majakowski, Marmier, Montesquieu, Mrożek, Noot, Pirandello, Pound, Pushkin, Renan, Robinson, Rousseau, Seneca, Shakespeare, Simonov, Stendhal, Thoreau, Tolstoy, Turgenev, Yeats, Zola (Germany); Pirandello (Greece); Dante, Goethe, Lope de Vega, Shakespeare (Hungary); Anderson, Frederic (Iceland); Emerson, Gorky, Poe, Rolland (India); Chekhov (Ireland); Thoreau (Israel); Apollinaire, Brantôme, Chaucer, Cipariu, Constant, Cooper, Dario, Décluze, Du Bellay, Emerson, Flaubert, Gobineau, Goethe, Goldsmith, Gracián, Heinse, Iqbal, James, Lamartine, Lawrence, Thomas, Mann, Milton, Montaigne, Rabelais, Renan, Shakespeare, Storm, Unamuno, d'Urfé, Voltaire, Williams (Italy); Brecht, Dante, Emerson, George, Goethe, Hemingway, Ibsen, Montaigne, Pound, Storm (Japan); Voltaire (Netherlands); Baudelaire, Dante (Peru); Alain de Lille, Brecht, Calderón, Dante, Heine, Hugo, Krleža, Opitz, Petrach, Pirandello, Sartre, de Staél, Unamuno, Zola (Poland); Pirandello (Portugal); Andersen, Dante, Ionesco, Shakespeare (Rumania); Apuleius, Baudelaire, Brantôme, Bu-

tor, Chateaubriand, Chaucer, Clements, Croce, Dante, France, Irving, Kipling, Lessing, Nietzsche, Orwell, Pope, Rilke, Shakespeare, Sienkiewicz, de Staél, Stendhal, Ticknor (Spain); Arosell, Chaucer (Sweden); Dante, Foscolo (Switzerland); Aleykhem, Arnold, Baudelaire, Byron, Casas, D'Annunzio, Dante, Dodsley, Goethe, Heyse, Ibsen, Irving, Jagić, Kinglake, Lamartine, Manzoni, Péguy, Pirandello, Rilke, Scott, Shaw, Swet, Wieland (U.S.S.R.); Andersen, Baudelaire, Casona, Cervantes, Claudel, Croce, Dante, Duhamel, Flaubert, García Lorca, Goethe, Gorky, Hronov, Johanson, Kafka, Majakowsky, Montaigne, Ortega y Gasset, Pirandello, Rilke, Ruiz, Shakespeare, Stevenson, Storm, Strindberg, Thackeray, Turgenev, Unamuno, Vittorini, Walpole, Wilde (U.S.A.); Gorky, Pirandello (Yugoslavia).

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NEWS AND NOTES

WILLIAM RILEY PARKER (1906-68) found the time to serve on the Editorial Committee of the *Yearbook* ever since it moved to Indiana University in 1960-61. He was an unswerving supporter of our enterprise and always offered advice of the highest quality. What the editorial staff of the *Yearbook*, both as colleagues and as individuals, owes to this man, we cannot even begin to say. We are grateful to his longtime associate, Don Walsh, for consenting to write the following tribute:

William Riley Parker was many people. One of them was a warm and friendly human being, a cherished companion, a fellow of infinite jest, a lover of puns and whimsey—all this despite a great shyness that he overcame with such success that few of his acquaintances suspected its existence.

Bill was a person of enormous and absolute integrity, as a scholar, as a teacher, and as an administrator. Whatever he undertook, he fulfilled. Indeed, whatever he undertook was so well carried out that its utility and significance far exceeded the sometimes modest goal that he had set for himself. So *The National Interest and Foreign Lan-*

guages, which he wrote in 1954 at the request of UNESCO to serve as a work-paper for citizens' consultations on the importance of foreign-language study for twentieth-century America, became the most authoritative and widely-read statement on this subject and the best summation of the history of foreign-language teaching in the United States. His *MLA Style Sheet*, a booklet prepared in 1951 as a guide for authors of articles to be submitted to scholarly journals, went through twenty printings and nearly a million copies to become the standard for academic writing in the fields of language and literature.

Though I never attended a class of Bill's, I have heard his speeches and read his writings so often that I know that his dedication as a scholar, the conviction with which he stated his creed, his passion for excellence in others, all would make him a rare teacher; a token of this eminence was his appointment in 1958 as Distinguished Professor of English at Indiana University.

Bill was an unusually good speaker, and not by accident. He appreciated the effectiveness of the dramatic pause and he knew that an audience that is

being asked to stretch its mind should not at the same time be asked to strain its hearing. It was a never-ending satisfaction to his hearers that what he enunciated so clearly was worthy of the enunciation. He wrote as well as he spoke. And, not surprisingly, he was a very good listener.

Bill was a Milton scholar; his magnum opus was a biography at which he worked for many, many years, years interrupted by service to the profession, by his devotion to foreign-language teaching, by his directorship of the Language Development Branch of the United States Office of Education, a tour of duty that forced him to commute weekly from Indiana to Washington and, most recently, by the heavy demands of the chairmanship of the Indiana University English Department. Despite all the interruptions and counter-demands, he did finish the Milton biography and it appeared in two stout volumes of 1489 pages, of which, with characteristic Parker thoroughness, 823 pages were devoted to commentary, notes, index, and a finding list for the 666-page *Life*. The volumes were published by the Clarendon Press in time for Bill to see them (but not to see them reviewed in this country) before he died.

Despite his eminence as a Milton scholar, as a teacher of English, and as the Editor of *PLMA* from 1948 to 1956, Bill's greatest impact on education in this century was his creation of the Foreign Language Program in 1952, while he was Executive Secretary of the Modern Language Association. The program has had an incalculable effect on members of the foreign-language profession, greatly increasing their self-respect, bringing them greater understanding of the nature of language, urging them to insist on longer sequences of language learning, and to broaden their teaching to cover the four

fundamental language skills. The Program was financed by two successive grants from the Rockefeller Foundation (1952-58). By the time the foundation support ended, the National Defense Education Act had been enacted and, thanks to the persuasive testimony of Bill and his associates in the Foreign Language Program, modern foreign languages were included (with mathematics and science) as areas of special concern to the national interests of the United States.

Even though much of the thrust of the FL Program and of the NDEA has been upon language learning in the elementary and secondary schools, the Executive Council of the Modern Language Association had so much faith in Bill Parker and his work that it declared that the FL Program, with or without foundation support or government subsidy, is a permanent concern of the MLA. And it has so remained, to the creation in 1967 of the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages, the first membership organization in this country open to all teachers of all foreign languages at all educational levels.

Milton scholars, the UNESCO, the U. S. Office of Education, the whole language-teaching profession, we all owe so much to Bill Parker.

Donald D. Walsh

The *Yearbook* suffered, only a few weeks after the death of Bill Parker, another painful loss when Professor JOSEPH K. YAMAGIWA (1906-68) of the University of Michigan succumbed to a heart seizure last winter. He had been a member of the Advisory Committee of the *Yearbook* since 1961. We thank Professor Emeritus Hide Shohara of the University of Michigan for the encomium which follows:

Professor Joseph K. Yamagiwa, scholar and educator, passed away on

December 10, 1968. Son of Heiyemon and Kesano Yamagiwa, he was born in Seattle, Washington, on September 9, 1906. He was graduated from high school in that city in 1924. He received his A.B. degree from Bates College (Maine) in 1928, his M.A. and Ph.D. from the University of Michigan in 1930 and 1942 respectively. He married Hanako Hoshino in 1932 and is survived by his wife, his daughter Mrs. Gustavo (Rosanna) Alfaro, his granddaughter Anna Elisa of Stanford, California, two brothers and a sister. From 1930 to 1937, Professor Yamagiwa served on the staff of the Early Modern English Dictionary project at the University of Michigan. The discipline he acquired through this project was manifest in his meticulous habits as an author and editor in later years.

Professor Yamagiwa's accomplishments in the academic world are too numerous to mention in this limited space. In 1937 he joined the Oriental Department of the University of Michigan as an instructor in Japanese, pioneering the instruction of that language in the University. He was bilingual in the true sense of the word. Upon the establishment of the Department of Far Eastern Languages and Literatures in 1947, he was made chairman of that Department, a post he held for the following sixteen years. During his tenure as chairman, the program in Chinese and Japanese made steady progress toward becoming a first-class department.

During World War II, when there was an acute need for Japanese-speaking Americans, Joseph Yamagiwa was appointed by the Army as Educational Director of the U. S. Army Japanese Language School (1943-1946) at the University of Michigan. Only those who worked closely with him knew how demanding, both physically and mentally, the work of the director was, but he

conducted the school with great academic acuity and administrative skill. In 1945, Professor Yamagiwa spent a few months in Japan as research analyst for the U. S. Strategic Bombing Survey. The interest he generated among the soldier-students in Japanese studies inspired many to return to their study of Japanese language, literature, and related disciplines in various graduate schools after the war.

Professor Yamagiwa held memberships in many professional organizations and served on major committees. Various grants took him to Japan for research. He was also a Fulbright lecturer at Oxford University in 1958 and served as a delegate to U. S.-Japanese conferences.

His many publications won respect in the academic world. These include, in addition to many research articles, *Translations from Early Japanese Literature* (with E. O. Reischauer, Harvard U. P., 1951) and *Okagami: A Japanese Historical Tale* (London, 1967). In recent years, noting the critical need for Japanese reading materials felt by advanced students in the humanities and social sciences, he organized a team of collaborators, including Japanese scholars, for producing materials aiming at the development of rapid reading knowledge of Japanese in various fields. This project resulted in texts with detailed annotations. They include *Readings in Japanese Literature*, 1965; *Readings in Japanese Political Science*, 1965; *Readings in Japanese Language and Linguistics*, 1965; *Readings in Japanese History*, 1966; and *Readings in Japanese Anthropology and Sociology*, 1966.

From 1962 until his death, Professor Yamagiwa was first the chairman and later the coordinator of the CIC (Committee on Institutional Cooperation) Far Eastern Language Program which he initiated and ably directed through seven

summer institutes generously supported by grants from the Ford Foundation and the U. S. Office of Education. The cooperative Institutes of the Big Eleven Universities became the prototype of several intensive language institutes.

His untimely death interrupted his productive years, but the inspiration he left with his students and colleagues will long endure. We shall remember Joe Yamagiwa with high esteem and affection.

Hide Shohara

The Comparative Literature Program of the University of Southern California, under the able and engaging leadership of David H. Malone, has sponsored a yearly Conference on Comparative Literature since 1967. The proceedings of at least some of the conferences will be published; the first volume

was released as the "University of Southern California Studies in Comparative Literature, No. 1" in 1968, bearing the title: *Medieval Epic to the 'Epic Theatre' of Brecht, Essays in Comparative Literature*. It is edited by Rosato P. Armato and John M. Spalek of USC, has 252 pages including an index of names, costs \$5.75, and may be obtained from Reginald Hennessey & Co., 8325 Campion Drive, Los Angeles, California, 90045. The second Conference took place in June of 1968 and centered on the concept of genre. The third conference was held in April of 1969 under the title "The Frontiers of Literary Criticism," featured such stellar speakers and discussants as Donald Davie, Ihab Hassan, Ralph Freedman, Peter Demetz, Victor Lange, Egon Schwarz, René Wellek, René Girard, Michael Riffaterre, Edward J. Brown

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Die Boheme

Beiträge zu ihrer Beschreibung

1968. XVI, 435 Seiten. Leinen DM 36.—



Die Boheme ist im 19.Jahrhundert als Randgruppe der ökonomisch-industriellen Entwicklung in Erscheinung getreten, ist seitdem immer wieder einmal totgesagt worden, hat sich aber bis hin zu den Beatniks und Hippies immer wieder neu gebildet—ein Komplementärphänomen zu den angepassten Mittelschichten in fast allen modernen Industriegesellschaften. Helmut Kreuzer beschreibt diese "Subkultur von Intellektuellen" an Hand zahlreicher Texte aus verschiedenen Zeiten, Ländern und Literaturen. Nach einer begriffsgeschichtlichen und begriffskritischen Einleitung wird zunächst die Darstellung der Boheme in der erzählenden Literatur untersucht, danach werden die typischen Einstellungen und Verhaltensweisen in der Boheme entwickelt: Lebensgewohnheiten und Auftreten des Bohemiens ebenso wie beispielsweise das Verhältnis zur städtisch-industriellen Zivilisation, zu bürgerlicher Arbeit und Geldwirtschaft, zum Kunstwerk als Ware und—besonders aktuell—zur Politik.

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and Edward Wasiolek, and will appear as volume III of the aforementioned series.

A new "Journal of Interdisciplinary Criticism," *Hartford Studies in Literature*, to be published triennially, January, May, October, is about to be (or has just been) born. It is destined for "readers who want to keep abreast of literary criticism as informed by any other art, science, or related scholarly discipline," with the emphasis on literature and no restrictions as to period, nationality, genre, or the extra-literary discipline involved. Its General Editor is Leonard F. Manheim and its associate editor Melvin Goldstein, both of the University of Hartford. Four of the seventeen members of the editorial committee confess to comparative literature as their first love; the other members' specialties include English, American, and French literature, professional writing, mathematics, computer science, sociology, personality evaluation, and musicology.

Annual subscription for the three issues (over 200 pages) will be \$3.50, with a special \$2.50 introductory rate for the first year. The first issue is devoted to the film. The address: *Hartford Studies in Literature*, 200 Bloomfield Avenue, West Hartford, Conn., 06117 (for subscriptions); 302 University Hall, University of Hartford (for contributions).

From the *Brown Alumni Monthly*, December 1968, page 2:

"An anonymous donor will give the University 2.5 million in the form of a challenge gift to raise four academic departments to the highest levels of excellence in the next five years. Labeled "Project Preeminence," the gift will be used to develop the academic

areas of comparative literature, history, solid state physics, and the fields of electrical and material sciences in the engineering division.

"The challenge aspect of the gift is that the money will not be used for endowed funds but will be spent principally for salaries for new faculty members in the four areas selected . . .

"In comparative literature, it is believed that the program will involve all of the modern languages and the department of English utilizing the cluster effect of interdisciplinary study."

In the February, 1969, issue of the same magazine, pp. 16-17, Professor Juan Lopez-Morillas, chairman of the Brown comparative literature department, presently in its third year of existence, outlines plans for the use of the grant.

Editorial planning on the ICLA's "Comparative History of European Literature" is proceeding apace. The Editorial Committee met again in Budapest in the last days of October 1968. In addition to the host country, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, France, Holland, the United States, and Canada were represented at the meeting. A progress report was given to the meeting of the ICLA Bureau in Paris early in 1969. The Sorbonne has established a research center which is expected to produce a volume dealing with the problems of the transition between the Enlightenment and Romanticism. A meeting of interested parties was held in Paris in June of 1969. Further research centers are in the evolving stage. The Editorial Committee is to meet again in Utrecht in mid-November 1969. The report of the Secretary and of the Editorial Committee to the Bordeaux congress in 1970 should be able to furnish news of substantial advances in the planning of this major enterprise.

The Interdepartmental Committee on Comparative Literature of Texas Technological College in Lubbock, Texas, chaired by Wolodymyr T. Zyla and representing the departments of English, Classical and Romance, and Germanic and Slavonic Languages, sponsored its first Comparative Literature Symposium held on the Lubbock campus from April 22 to April 24, 1968. Themes such as *Don Quixote* (T. Earle Hamilton), Russian influences on English literature (Floyd E. Eddleman), and reciprocal influences of German and French literature (Carl Hammer, Jr.) were treated and published as volume 1, *Proceedings of the Comparative Literature Symposium* (W. T. Zyla, ed.), Special Report No. 8 of the International Center for Arid and Semi-Arid Land Studies at Texas Tech (1968), 70 pp. The three sessions were attended by a total of 339

people. The second annual symposium, on "James Joyce: His Place in World Literature," was held on February 7 and 8, 1969, and attended by 620 participants from eighteen institutions. The proceedings of the second symposium have just been published. The third symposium, devoted to the theme "From Surrealism to the Absurd," will be held on January 29-30, 1970.

At the initiative of Professor Walter A. Behrendson, the Institute of German Literature at the University of Stockholm has issued the third in a series of surveys focusing on the present state of research in the study of German emigré literature. On 148 mimeographed pages, the list offers brief descriptions of relevant collections and reports, in some detail, on special

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efforts now being made by individuals and institutions all over the world to study and evaluate this rich and largely untapped source of information on German literature between 1933 and 1945. The present installment was issued in advance of a conference which took place in Stockholm between September 19-21, 1969.

The VIth Congress of the International Comparative Literature Association will be held at the University of Bordeaux from August 31 to September 5, 1970. The organizing committee is headed by Robert Escarpit. The two principal topics of the congress are 1) Literature and Society: Problems of structure and communication, and 2) Literatures of the Mediterranean World: Inheritance and Renewal. There will also be two symposia on literary connections between Europe and Africa, and between the Orient and the West. Registration forms and other information may be obtained from the Secretariate of the VIth Congress of the ICLA, Faculté des Lettres, Section de Littérature Comparée, Domaine Universitaire de Talence, 33 Talence, France.

Comparative Literature got an early start in nineteenth century Germany, but has been lagging as a recognized university discipline there throughout the twentieth century. In recent years it has made perceptible though not spectacular progress in several universities. The excellent comparative literature journal, *Arcadia*, launched in 1966 under the editorship of Horst Rüdiger (Bonn), has strengthened it further, and now (June 1969) a further shot in the arm has been administered to it by the foundation

of the "Deutsche Gesellschaft für Allgemeine und Vergleichende Literaturwissenschaft" which will be affiliated with the International Comparative Literature Association. It is the aim of the society to promote the study of and research in comparative and general literature in Germany. Horst Rüdiger was elected chairman of the new organization.

The Comparative Literature Program at the University of Illinois in Urbana-Champaign and the Hispanic Society of America co-sponsored a conference on the Ibero-American Enlightenment, which took place on the Urbana campus May 9 and 10, 1969. It is likely that the proceedings will be published by the University of Illinois Press under the title: *The Ibero-American Enlightenment: A Collection of Essays*. A "Society for the Ibero-American Enlightenment" was organized at the meeting. Additional information may be obtained from the conference chairman, Professor A. Owen Aldridge.

The first issue of *Hasifrut*, "the first periodical in Hebrew devoted to the scholarly study of literature," appeared in the spring of 1968. Its editor is Benjamin Hrushovski, Head of the Department of Poetics and Comparative Literature of Tel-Aviv University, who has announced that articles will deal with both Hebrew and Comparative Literature and that special attention will be paid to the theory of literature, to poetics, and to the study of translations. Extensive summaries of each article in English appear in each issue. There will be brief book reviews as well as summaries and reviews of important articles in journals of literary criticism outside Israel.

In spite of our appeal to the readers, issued in last year's "News and Notes," we have not received any letters to the

Editor. We repeat our invitation for the 1970 *Yearbook*. Letters should be in our hands by April 15, 1970.

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